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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA

PART 1

January to December 1952

(Previous Correspondence respecting Algeria and Tunisia is to be found in the Africa (General) series of Volumes)

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA—PART 1

CHAPTER I.—FRENCH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/2

No. 1

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY REPORT

Quarter ending 31st December, 1951

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (Received 31st January)

(No. 2. Confidential) *Rabat,*
Sir, *9th January,* 1952.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the political report from this post for the quarter ended 31st December, 1951. I took up my duties here in the middle of November and am indebted to Mr. Consul Coe for the preparation of this report.

2. I am copying this despatch and its enclosure to His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, His Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to His Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure in No. 1

Political Report by His Majesty's Consul-General, Rabat, for the Quarter ended 31st December, 1951

1. General

There has been much more political activity in the French Zone of Morocco during this quarter than of late, partly as a result of the arrival on 3rd October of General Guillaume as Resident-General. He embarked at once on a series of receptions and tours of the country similar to those which marked the departure of his predecessor. They were spread over a period of about a month, during which he also paid two visits to Paris, in order, it was said, to give a personal report on the result of his first contacts with the population of Morocco, to obtain agreement to his proposed policy, and to clear up certain difficulties which existed between the French and the Americans. He has replaced a number of senior officials by men of his own choice, with whom he feels he can work better than with those of General Juin's régime.

He has made many speeches to the local population, and has also accorded interviews to local press representatives. On all occasions he has made it plain that, while he intends to work for the development and political advancement of Morocco, he has no use for self-styled Nationalist parties and their advocates, and will do his utmost to prevent any interference by them in the course of political apprenticeship which he considers should be pursued. His main theme is the need for the French and Moroccans to get to know and understand each other better; to this end the French should learn to speak Arabic as soon as possible—and he is insisting on this in the case of a number of his officials. Education and the administration of justice are among the other points on which he holds strong views, and he has already substantially increased the salaries of Moroccan magistrates in order to "put them above corruption." He broadcast a message to the peoples of the French Zone on New Year's Eve, in which he called for co-operation in the task which France had set herself in Morocco. He stressed that her aim to see Morocco brought to the level of the most progressive countries remained unchanged.

General Guillaume is extremely outspoken and has openly criticised the fact that British and American consular officers have had contacts with the Nationalist politicians, who he regards as enemies of France. He is convinced (probably quite rightly) that, even if the officers concerned simply listen to their visitors, the latter

enlarge on their interviews and attempt to use them as recognition of their own importance.

His relations with the Sultan are at present on a more cordial basis than were those of his predecessor. He sees His Majesty much more frequently and aims at doing so twice a week in the hope of establishing a better understanding with him, although any radical change in His Majesty's declared policy would doubtless bring him into conflict with the Nationalist leaders, of whom he is already alleged to be afraid.

His Majesty the Sultan made the usual speech, which was broadcast, on the occasion of the anniversary of his accession to the throne. It contained a reference to his intention to continue to negotiate *with France* with a view to securing a revision of their present relations. This was received favourably by French and Moroccans alike owing to the different interpretations which they placed upon it.

His Majesty's initial and subsequent receptions of the new Resident-General have been noticeably cordial by comparison with his attitude towards General Juin; it is, however, early yet to know whether this improvement is likely to continue.

Egypt's decision to bring the " Moroccan question " before the General Assembly of the United Nations held public interest for many weeks—the French showing great indignation at such action, and the Moroccans great hope of the subsequent outcome. Neither appears to have derived much satisfaction from the result, and the French press has been critical of what it described as M. Schuman's " too careful " handling of the French viewpoint. It was also very annoyed that a country which still has so much to learn in responsibility and administration should have dared to accuse France with her long experience of such matters. M. Schuman's statement in the National Assembly on 22nd November has given no satisfaction to the Moroccans, who feel that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

There were riots at Casablanca early in November when the Istiqlal Party decided to boycott the elections for the Moroccan Consultative Chambers; they resulted in a number of serious casualties, including five dead, but strong action by the local authorities quickly restored the situation and prevented further outbreaks. Many arrests were made, and sentences varying from four months to two years were imposed.

The French and Moroccan sections of the " conseil du Gouvernement " met in normal sessions during the period 13th–20th December to discuss the 1952 budget. There were no untoward incidents.

Anti-British feeling appears to have lessened among the French and a certain aloofness has been noticeable on the part of some of those Nationalists who formerly kept in contact with His Majesty's Consulate-General. It is interesting to note that the tone of the local French press is much more friendly towards Britain than it has been for a long time. While this is obviously due in the main to Mr. Churchill's personal popularity and to his return to Downing Street, it seems likely that some share may be attributable to the advent of the new Resident-General and the officials who have subsequently joined his staff.

2. Activities of Political Parties

As will be seen from the above, the Istiqlal Party has become active again. In addition to its action at the time of the riots at Casablanca, it appears to have influenced certain religious leaders to include references in public prayers to the grant of independence to Libya and the hopes which the Moroccans should derive therefrom. These prayers were said on Friday, 28th December in seven mosques at Fez, two each at Mazagan and Rabat, and one each at Casablanca and Taza, and the Imams concerned were immediately arrested. Two of them in Rabat were subsequently let off with fines of 1,000 francs each and the third was acquitted. Despite these low penalties this action on the part of the French seems unnecessarily uncalled for and provocative, and may have repercussions in other Moslem countries. This episode has prompted the *Istiqlal* newspaper to complain against the French for interfering with the religious affairs of the Moslems.

Patriotic demonstrations were expected to be organised by the Istiqlal on the occasion of the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne, but none materialised.

3. Communist Activities

There has been little evidence of Communist activity during the quarter, though the local Communist Party is alleged to have taken advantage of the Casablanca riots to distribute tracts. This was seized upon by the local French press as evidence that the Nationalists and Communists work together.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

Relations do not exist officially between the political parties and the French, and there is little, if any, contact between them except when the authorities decide to take action in specific cases. The latter have been confined to those reported in the preceding paragraphs. General Guillaume has consistently repeated his approval of nationalism where it represents the country's best interests and therefore refers to the subversive politicians either as " extremists " or " fanatics."

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy. Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, &c.

The number of Moroccans entitled to vote in the elections for the Moroccan Consultative Chambers has been increased from 10,000 to 150,000, and the number of seats from 291 to 352, thus bringing the Chambers more into line with their French counterparts. As stated above, the elections were boycotted by the Istiqlal Party and its members.

Thirty-one new "djemmas " (local councils) have been brought into being by vizierial decrees.

General Guillaume has indicated, both in the many speeches he has made since his arrival and during the recent sessions of the Conseil du Gouvernement, that he intends to press forward with a number of reforms affecting both the material well-being of the country and the advancement of education and of public health. He has frequently emphasised how essential it is that Moroccan youth should become educated on modern lines without losing its traditional culture, and that the French and Moroccans should get to know and understand each other better, with a view to the latter being able to take a proper part in the administration of their country.

A suggestion was put forward by a French member during the recent session of the Conseil du Gouvernement that the time had come when the French and Moroccan sections should sit in joint session. Although this received some support from other members, the Resident-General said that, while agreeing in principle that complete collaboration was necessary, this question would require most careful consideration before any change in the present system could be made.

6. Impact of Events outside Morocco on Local Opinion

The events which have evoked the most general interest are, not unnaturally, those in other countries which in different ways are regarded as having been fighting against dependence on the Western Powers, *i.e.*, Persia, Egypt and Libya. Firstly Persia, then Egypt, held the headlines in the press, but the grant of independence to Libya is probably the event which touched Morocco most closely—the French seeing in it a possibly embarrassing precedent which might be quoted against the justification for their remaining here, while their adversaries express the hope that it will accelerate the independence of the country. The French tend to attribute events in Persia and Egypt to past errors in British foreign policy; the Moroccans, while usually sympathetic to the stand taken by other Arab and Moslem peoples nevertheless give us credit for our handling of the situation. They feel that, had France been in our place, there would have been much more bloodshed and repression.

The demands of the Nationalists in Tunis for a fuller measure of self-government and the change of Resident-General have been fully reported and have been watched with keen interest by French and Moroccans alike. The new Resident-General there is thought to have a very difficult task ahead of him.

Other important events, such as the Conservatives' success in the recent general election at home, the Korean armistice talks, German rearmament, the creation of a European Army, Middle East Defence, and the instability of the French Cabinet have also been reported at length.

7. Press

Comment in the French press here is still confined principally to the *Echo du Maroc* and *Maroc Presse*, with an occasional editorial in the *Petit Marocain*. They are all, particularly the first, extremely critical of Soviet policy and procrastination, and lay the blame for the unrest in the Middle East and the agitation in Morocco at Russia's door, attributing it sometimes to direct encouragement and at others to the desire to stir up trouble from which she would be bound to benefit. In *Maroc Presse* M. Marcel Peyreuton urged that the time had come to put a stop to Soviet expansion, which " is being encouraged by the occult complicity of some and the guilty indifference of others." The *Echo du Maroc* feels that there has been a change in the Soviet

attitude during recent months, and that threats have now been replaced by protests. At the same time, it is of the opinion that great forbearance is still necessary, especially on the part of the Americans, to ensure that the Russian game does not force the Western Powers into precipitate action which could not but have disastrous consequences for mankind. Conversely, it feels that unless German rearmament is made part and parcel of the arrangements for the creation of a European army, Russia might be equally prone to act without counting the cost. It does not like the resurrection of the German army, but realises that it is a necessary and inevitable risk which must be taken. It prefers a European "coalition" to a European "federation."

There has been a marked change in the tone of the *Echo du Maroc's* editorials by Pierrat, who, although still sometimes (but not so frequently) critical of Britain and British policy, no longer writes of them with the same hostility and bitterness as in the past. He expressed great relief when Mr. Churchill was returned to power, and there is no doubt that this is the cause of the more favourable light in which he now sees us. He notes with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government now appear to be willing to collaborate with France both in Europe and in Africa "instead of deliberately working against her in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East, as she has so often done in the past." Reviewing the events of 1951, this paper considers that, although the danger of massacre is still suspended over the world, the string which holds it is stronger than it was at the end of 1950.

World events have been fully reported in the Nationalist Arabic newspaper *Al Alam*, but there has been little comment of any consequence. An editorial at the beginning of the crisis in the Suez Canal Zone put the blame for the trouble on the British on the pretext that the latter started it deliberately in order to justify their presence there: there was no necessity for them to be there at all.

The Nationalist French-language newspaper *Al Istiqlal* continues to be very outspoken in its criticism of everything the French do in Morocco and in North Africa generally; but its articles are so petulant, and often so obviously at variance with facts, that it is unlikely that they would have any great measure of success in converting any but the most gullible French readers to the Nationalist viewpoint. It gave great prominence to the recent grant of independence to Libya, seeing therein "the opening of the breach in North Africa." In summing up the events of the year, it said that the Moroccans must not lose hope; Gandhi had known how "to set the spiritual armament of 400 million souls against the West, and proud Albion had been obliged to surrender in time."

As regards reporting, the Resident-General has told the press that they are free to publish what they like, but he has also warned them that if they exceed the limits of untruth he will see that legal action is taken against them.

8. Miscellaneous

There have been frequent visits by American politicians and high-ranking officers, mainly in connexion with the new air bases in the zone. All were received by the Resident-General, and some by the Sultan. The bases at Mouaceur and Sidi Slimane are almost completed and three other sites at Ben-Guérir, El Djemaa-Sahim and Boulhaut, have just been decided upon. Pipe-lines for the supply of aviation spirit from Casablanca are to be installed for all of them with the main storage facilities at Mouaceur.

Mahjoub ben Seddick, the Secretary-General of the C.G.T. Syndicate of Railway Workers, was arrested early in November on a charge of incitement to murder, having made an inflammatory speech at a meeting shortly after the Casablanca riots. He was subsequently condemned to two years' imprisonment.

JF 1016/7 No. 2

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (*Received 8th March*)

(No. 112. Confidential) *Paris, 7th March*, 1952.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a most interesting report by Her Majesty's Minister of a recent visit to French North Africa. I attach great importance to senior members of the Embassy paying periodic visits to these territories in view of their increasing significance in French and world affairs.

2. As regards Mr. Hayter's report, I would draw particular attention to his observations on nationalism, the French *colons* and the future. The problem raised by the presence of the numerous French settlers of all classes in each of the territories is too often overlooked.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Algiers and Tunis.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY.

Enclosure in No. 2

At his Excellency's suggestion I recently paid a visit to French North Africa. My itinerary is shown in the appendix. I travelled throughout in the Air Attaché's aeroplane. As will be seen I did not visit Spanish Morocco or Tangier.

2. It is hardly likely that in a visit lasting less than a fortnight to an easily accessible area in which our consular representation is strong I should be likely to discover anything very new. However, I had the advantage of coming to it fresh, and a further advantage denied to Her Majesty's consular officers of covering all the three French territories. These territories seem very much cut off from each other; for instance, it proved impossible to find out in Fez whether Algiers was on Moroccan or French time, though the border is not much more than a hundred miles away.

3. Thus I feel justified in putting down a few impressions. I am conscious that they will be very superficial. There is a reason for this additional to that provided by the shortness of my visit, namely, that my contacts were almost solely with the French. I met no natives of the country, apart from a purely formal interview with the Bey of Tunis and a conversation with the Caid Ibrahim, the Glaoui's eldest son, who though intelligent and agreeable had all the marks of being a French stooge. I can thus only report the French point of view, as gathered in conversation with the chief French officials in the few large towns which I visited, supplemented and corrected by conversations with Her Majesty's consular officers.

4. My general impressions can be summed up in two points, both obvious enough. The first is that the French achievements in North Africa are very great. The second is that these very achievements have created an almost impossible situation and that there is no real confidence, even among the French, that the present position can be held.

French Achievements

5. There is no need to expand the first point. At least half of the only conversation I had with General Guillaume, the Resident-General in Morocco, in his office was confined to an explanation by him of an immense relief map of Morocco, on which he demonstrated the progress made in the development of the country. One of his claims was that in a few years' time no Moroccan rivers would reach the sea; their waters would all have been used up to provide power and irrigation. Casablanca, unattractive though it is, is a remarkable achievement, a port carrying as much traffic as Rouen created in less than forty years, and a town whose population is rapidly approaching the million. Moreover, we were shown some impressive achievements there in the spheres of housing specially adapted for Moroccan use and of free clinics and medical attention. One has to keep reminding oneself in Morocco that France has been there for less than a generation. In all three territories the framework of a modern State has been created. Of course we only visited the larger towns, and even in them there are large sections where the native way of life continues completely untouched. Moreover, in flying over the country one sees many areas where conditions clearly remain primitive. Still, almost the whole country is now served by a good network of roads and railways, and large areas now under heavy cultivation as a result of irrigation projects were deserts a decade ago.

Nationalism

6. But all these achievements have contributed to create an impossible situation. The reason for this is the existence of nationalism. There are Nationalist movements in all three countries, less in evidence in Algeria perhaps but strong even there. Probably at least 90 per cent. of the native inhabitants of all the countries want independence. Even the Caid Ibrahim said that he was a Nationalist and that like all his compatriots he wanted Morocco to be run by the Moroccans. But the French say, and there seems to be no doubt that they are right, that the Nationalist movements are

quite incapable of running the three territories as modern States. The alternative of running them in the way they were run before the French came does not exist, since owing to the way the French have developed the country the population has increased beyond the level at which it could be supported by the way of life which prevailed in pre-French times. As a horrible warning of what would happen we were frequently told the story of how in Cyrenaica now the Arabs who have taken over the Italian farms live in tents and put their livestock in the houses. The French are determined that this shall not happen in French North Africa, maintain that it is what would happen if they left, and say that, while in an under-populated country like Cyrenaica it can happen without disaster, it would mean catastrophe in Tunisia, Algeria or Morocco. Equally, however, it seems impossible for the French to sit on the safety-valve for ever. Nationalism exists in French North Africa, and something must be done about it.

7. North African nationalism, as described to me by the French, is an urban phenomenon. The countryside is quiet, and the French *colons* scattered about in their isolated farms are unprotected and unmolested. Indeed, by all accounts their relations with the country population are excellent. I was told a story of an area in the south of Tunisia where for various reasons the post of the Khalifa, the Bey's representative, was left unfilled for many years. No one minded at all about this, but when the local *colon,* who had spent all his life in the area, left for France to marry off his daughter, deputations visited the *contrôleur civil* to beg that the *colon* be asked to return at once as they could not manage without him.

8. But if nationalism is largely confined to the towns, a further distinction must be drawn. Curiously enough, if the French are right the traditional Islamic centres are not rabidly Nationalist. Kairouan, which claims to be the third most holy city of Islam, has been almost completely quiet during the present troubles in Tunisia. Fez is supposed to be the centre of Moroccan traditions, and the present military governor there says that during his five years' term of office his troops have never had to fire a shot. In places like this the traditional way of life continues, and the people are conscious that they cannot run a modern State. Their leaders are Nationalist, but not in a hurry. These towns look to the traditional ruling classes of the country, headed by the Bey and the Sultan, and though these are all in different degrees identified with Nationalist aspirations they are conscious that the more extreme Nationalists are as much a danger to their own position as to the French.

9. The real trouble is in the modern towns, in the ports, in places like Ferryville, the French arsenal in Tunisia, in Tunis itself, and in Casablanca. " Il n'y a pas de problème marocain, il n'y a qu'un problème de Casa," one Frenchman said to me, perhaps with a certain amount of exaggeration. In these towns there is an urbanised proletariat, detached from its traditional framework, living moreover for the most part in abominable conditions. One would expect the result to be communism, but so far there seems to be singularly little of this. M. Léonard, the Governor-General of Algeria, admitted to me that he sometimes exaggerated the Communist danger in Algeria, for American consumption. General Laparra at Fez told me an illuminating story of a conversation with a young Communist whom he had recently had arrested and with whom he had spoken in prison. This Communist spoke with great contempt of the Nationalists, who were, he said, like a child jumping up to reach a fruit on a high tree; they were too weak to reach it, and even if they did it would be unripe; Communist policy was to wait for the fruit to ripen and fall into their lap. There is little doubt that the Communist parties are small and not particularly well organised, and that they have enough sense to realise they must play a waiting game, while doing their best to foment nationalism and to penetrate the Nationalist parties. For the present nationalism, not communism, is the real problem.

The Colons

10. There is another factor in North Africa which complicates the situation, and that is the problem of the *colons,* the French settlers in the three territories. The French frequently point out that it was possible for us to adopt the policy we did in India, Egypt, Iraq and Palestine because we made no real attempt to colonise these countries and therefore could evacuate them without leaving unprotected large groups of our own nationals. But French colonisation in North Africa has been massive. The proper analogy therefore is not with our former Indian or Middle Eastern possessions, or even with the French position in Indo-China and the Levant where little colonisation has taken place. The real analogy is with the Jews in Palestine, or even better with South Africa. In both cases there is the problem created by the existence of European settlers, who though in large numbers would normally remain a minority of the population. The French are never likely to adopt the Jewish solution of extermination or expulsion, and their approach is different from that of South Africa since the element of racial hysteria is absent. But the problem is fundamentally the same.

The Future

11. In the complex situation created by these conflicting factors decisions of policy must be difficult to take. It seems to me that there has been too much talk of what the French ought to do, or ought to have done in the past, and not enough of what they can do. There are certain things they cannot do. They cannot clear out now and hand over to the Nationalists. Everyone agrees that if they did the countries' economies would collapse, there would be famine and an almost certain massacre of Europeans, which would have to be followed by a costly reoccupation. Meanwhile the strategic facilities in North Africa essential to the West would be jeopardised. This is no solution. Equally I do not believe the present situation can prolong itself indefinitely. There is a feeling of tension and uncertainty throughout the area, most of all of course in Tunis at the moment, but the Moroccans, both French and native, are closely watching what happens in Tunisia; and if the position of the two protectorates altered, Algeria would certainly go the same way in the end. This uncertainty is handicapping the French in developing the countries concerned. Many of the *colons* are trying to sell out with a view to going to Canada or South America, and for the first time since the French went there capital is flowing back from Tunisia into France instead of the other way. The French officials mostly maintain that there can be no question of France leaving, but they say this so often as to give the impression of whistling to keep their courage up.

12. There must be some third possibility besides abandonment and maintenance of the *status quo.* A word which came up fairly often in conversation with French officials in North Africa was " symbiosis." It seems to be used in two senses. Firstly there is the economic interdependence of the territories and metropolitan France (for instance, Algerian wine, the main agricultural product of the country, has no market outside France). This economic interdependence is now considerable; it is no doubt being artificially promoted by the virtual exclusion of non-French imports, but it is becoming real. The second sense in which the word " symbiosis " is used by the French is to suggest that the different elements of the population cannot now get along without each other. In Tunisia, for instance, the Arabs provide the agricultural and industrial workers, the Italians and Maltese the carpenters, foremen, &c., and the French the managers and administrators. If the French in North Africa could accept the idea of incorporating themselves into a mixed State of this kind and taking on local nationality, they might be able to get the traditional leaders of the country on their side and thus work out with them an acceptable *modus vivendi.* They are certainly needed in the country. There are virtually no Moroccan engineers or doctors; practically every student who goes to a university reads law. In Tunisia and Algeria the position is a little better, a few of them are training as doctors, but the general picture is the same. The French ought undoubtedly to do more than they have done to promote technical education in the three territories, but for a long time to come their services will be essential to the maintenance of the kind of economy they have created in North Africa, and as a compact minority of efficient persons essential to the welfare of the country, and with the limited French forces which for strategic reasons would have to remain, there should be a future for them in the area. The economic interdependence with France would continue, and eventual membership of the French Union should render the situation acceptable to the French settlers. I had the impression that a few of the more far-sighted French in North Africa were beginning to think in these terms, as the talk of symbiosis showed. But most of them, I fear, are still thinking of " la présence française " in terms of the perpetuation of the present régime. One can only hope that the development of events will push them in the right direction. They must, however, make up their own minds; outside pressure will only stiffen the extremists on both sides. As an interesting example of this, the extremer elements among the French *colons* in Tunisia are, I was told, hoping that the Nationalists will continue with their appeal to the United

Nations, since this will demonstrate that the Nationalists are the enemies of the French and will oblige the French authorities in turn to treat the Nationalists as their enemies.

Personalities

13. The French administration is impressive in its upper levels, the only ones I met. I had no contact with any of the *colons,* nor did I meet many representatives of the "affaires indigènes" service. The latter have a very high reputation, but I heard criticisms of the junior civilian officers as being interested only in retaining their jobs and in some cases corrupt. This was certainly not the impression I gained of the officials I met. The three pro-consuls are all impressive in their different ways. General Guillaume is something of a showman, and I got the impression that he was unpopular with many of the French officials in Morocco, including the able *Chefs de région* in Casablanca, Marrakech and Fez. But he is quick-witted and I should say sufficiently ingenious to be able to hold the present position in Morocco if anyone can. I should not have said he had enough imagination to inaugurate a major change of policy. M. Léonard in Algeria is known to most of us as a former very efficient *préfet de police* in Paris; perhaps he is not much more than that. M. de Hautecloque, the Resident-General in Tunisia, is certainly the best of the three, intelligent and self-confident and prepared to take risks, with a generally humane and liberal outlook. He told me he was sure he could settle the position in Tunisia in three weeks if only the telephone to Paris could be cut. Quite how he proposed to settle it was not very clear to me. Clearly he wished to get rid of the present Tunisian Government; he spoke with great contempt of M. Chenik and of the Bey, whom he called "un pauvre type," but he says there are intelligent Tunisians with whom he could work and that if a better Government could be formed he could get on rapidly with a programme of reform. He has completely changed the leading personnel of the French administration in Tunisia. There have been too many of these changes in the recent past, but this last one is perhaps all to the good. If M. de Hautecloque and his new team could really bring off a satisfactory settlement in Tunisia, where conditions are fundamentally easier than in Morocco, this would be a hopeful sign and encouraging for future developments in the other two territories.

The Americans

14. They are much criticised but perhaps not more so than in metropolitan France. Everyone is longing for the departure of the Atlas Construction Company, which is building the American air bases; they are falsifying values throughout the protectorate by their extravagance, their waste, the high wages they pay and the dubious characters they employ. But certainly they are providing excellent evidence that the Americans have no imperialist ambitions to settle down in Morocco. One sees miserable young Americans hanging about in Casablanca and Marrakech, obviously unhappy and longing to be back in the States. It is very much hoped by the French, perhaps optimistically, that once the construction period is over the Americans will settle down in their remote bases, well away from the main centres of the population, with only small administrative units in the towns, and that the problems created by the present American invasion will resolve themselves in this way. The French officials, not only in Morocco but in the other two countries, are obviously suspicious of American intrigues with the Nationalists (as far as I can tell these suspicions have entirely died down in our case) but they have very little evidence to produce in support of these suspicions. I rather doubt whether they amount to much more than occasional indiscretions or excess of zeal on the part of certain American consular and other officers.

Appendix

Arrived	Rabat ...	18th	February
„	Casablanca	20th	„
„	Marrakech	21st	„
„	Fez	22nd	„
„	Algiers ...	24th	„
„	Tunis	26th	„
„	Paris	29th	„

JF 1013/5 No. 3

FRENCH MOROCCO: POLITICAL REPORT FOR QUARTER ENDING 31st MARCH, 1952

Acting Consul-General Coe to Mr. Eden. (Received 21st April)

(No. 20. Confidential) *Rabat, 10th April, 1952.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report for the quarter ended 31st March, 1952.

2. I am copying this despatch and its enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.

H. L. B. COE.

Enclosure in No. 3

Political Report by the Acting British Consul-General, Rabat, for the Quarter ended 31st March, 1952

1. General

The increase in political activity reported at the end of the previous quarter has been maintained.

The Resident-General has continued his official visits to towns and areas in the zone, making the usual speeches. (One often hears it said that he "talks too much"). He also paid visits to Paris early in January and in the second half of March. Immediately prior to the latter visit he was handed a letter addressed to the French Government by the Sultan in which His Majesty is said to have complained that no, or at least too little, progress is being made with the reforms which have been promised, asked to be allowed to appoint younger and more active persons of his own choice to the Maghzen, and expressed the hope that negotiations for the revision of the Treaty of Fez might begin forthwith. The letter is understood at present to be under consideration by the French Government and their reply is awaited. Although the Nationalists have said in their press that the problem can be avoided no longer, they do not appear to be very optimistic that a satisfactory reply will be forthcoming.

Blood has been shed twice during the quarter. At Casablanca, on the occasion of the visit of a party of United Nations Organisation delegates from Paris, a threatening crowd managed to surround the Resident-General's car. The Resident-General was extricated without incident, but the security measures subsequently put into force appear to have incensed certain elements of the native population, who are alleged to have started shooting with shot-guns. The police then opened fire and two Moroccans were killed and three wounded. There was a further incident at Safi on 31st March, when a threatening crowd is said to have gathered round the Pasha's Court as the result of the interrogation of a Moroccan. Police who were sent to the spot were stoned and then opened fire. In the resulting mêlée three Moroccans were killed and seven persons, including five Europeans, were injured. This incident does not at first sight seem to have had any particular political significance—though it is in keeping with an apparently increasing tendency on the part of the native population to rebel when action of any sort is being taken against them.

The Nationalists decreed a day of mourning and prayer for release from French domination for 30th March, the 40th Anniversary of the Treaty of Fez, and exhorted all Moroccans to observe it. Large numbers appear to have done so (though many of them obviously did not understand why) and the majority of the shopkeepers in the Medina closed their shops. Intimidation was used in many places and stones were thrown at those who tried to ignore it. This resulted in a number of arrests, notably at Casablanca and Fez.

The Resident-General has had occasional official audiences with the Sultan, but there is no evidence that his expressed intention of seeing His Majesty twice a week (see Section 1 of the last report) has been implemented. This may, however, be due to his frequent absences from Rabat, either visiting the rest of the zone or in Paris.

An incident arose between the Palace and the Residency over the desire of the Sultan to send His Imperial Highness Prince Moulay Hassan to attend the funeral of His late Majesty King George VI. His Majesty apparently wished his son to participate independently, but the French Government refused to agree to this and said he would

have to proceed with certain officials of the Residency and join President Auriol. The prince did not therefore go to London, but at the last moment attended (against the will of General Guillaume, it was alleged) the memorial service in Rabat arranged by Her Majesty's Consul-General for the day of the funeral. A communiqué and counter-communiqué were later issued locally on the subject.

A party of South American delegates to the United Nations Organisation paid a week's visit to the zone early in February at the invitation of the French Government. They were received by the Sultan and, being free to go where they wished, had opportunities of meeting the Nationalists. The latter appear, however, to have made themselves somewhat of a nuisance at many places, notably at Casablanca (see above), and it seems doubtful whether they enlisted the sympathy of the delegates to any great extent. However that may be, the leader of the delegation sent a telegram to the Resident-General expressing their enthusiasm at all they had seen and stressing the excellent impression they had gained of the French effort in the zone.

El Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakesh, made a speech on the occasion of the visit of the U.N.O. delegates to Marrakesh and again during a visit of the Resident-General to Télouet, in which he praised the work done by the French in Morocco and said that Morocco could not exist without French friendship. Those who would not recognise this were against Morocco and her interests. It is confidentially understood that the Sultan has protested against the rather blatant use of El Glaoui to consolidate the French position here and that he resents it especially on the ground that it is an attempt to diminish his own prestige.

2. Activities of Political Parties

The Istiqlal Party has, as usual, been accused of causing the various incidents which have occurred during the quarter. On the other hand, the party itself hotly denies any militant action and puts the blame on the French authorities who, it alleges, directly invite trouble by the unjustified and severe measures they take.

Early in January the Rabat police arrested a Fquih (a kind of lay-preacher) who had taken advantage of the Friday prayers in the mosque where he functioned to criticise France and the Resident-General and allude to an article in the *New York Times* which dealt with the situation in Morocco. This was held to be a political misdemeanour, and the man in question was subsequently sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. The Istiqlal (to which party he doubtless belongs) took the opportunity thus provided to show that the French were interfering even with the religious freedom of Moslems.

A delegation of the "National Front" called on the Grand Vizir on 11th January, the 8th Anniversary of the Manifesto of Independence, and handed him a memorandum for transmission to the Sultan. It is understood that the memorandum reviewed the events leading up to the presentation of the Moroccan case to the United Nations Organisation and expressed the hope that the Treaty of Fez would be abrogated and replaced by a new instrument determining the relations between French and Morocco in accordance with the principles of the U.N.O.

Arrests of small numbers of Istiqlal agitators have been announced from time to time in the French press; but the Nationalist newspapers allege that the numbers actually arrested are much larger and that the campaign of repression continues unabated.

The Nationalist newspaper *Al Alam* (Arabic) and *Al Istiqlal* (French) printed a communiqué issued by the National Front at the end of March declaring its opposition to the Lisbon Conference proposal that Morocco should be included in N.A.T.O. on the ground that as France would be the mouthpiece of Morocco the Moroccans would not be allowed to express their own opinions. It saw in the Lisbon decisions only an attempt to consolidate the colonial system already in force in the whole of North Africa.

3. Communist Activities

About the middle of January the local press announced that the police had arrested a number of Moroccan Communists in Casablanca in December last. Much valuable evidence, including a printing press, a large quantity of tracts and pamphlets in wrappers bearing Russian stamps and a suitcase full of documents emanating from the headquarters of the Communist Party, was obtained during the search of the premises used by those arrested. It is said to have shown that the latter were organising riots in the French Zone to coincide with similar action in Algiers and Tunis.

A young militant French Communist in Casablanca was sentenced at the end of January to a year's imprisonment and five years exclusion from the country. The French Secretary-General and secretary of the Meknes Branch of the Moroccan Communist Party were expelled from the French Zone at the beginning of February on orders from the Resident-General and left for Algiers. This expulsion was followed a few weeks later by that of the French Secretary-General of the C.G.T. Syndicate of the Casablanca police.

The authorities are aware that an improvement in labour conditions is essential if the source of Communist agitation is to be removed, and they have instituted a new system of supervision which appears to be yielding satisfactory results. Former "Contrôleurs Civils" with a knowledge of the local tongue are placed in those factories where agitation is most often encountered and are authorised to deal with complaints and requests from Moroccans.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

Nothing of interest beyond the events reported in section 2 above.

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reforms, &c.

Nothing to report.

6. Impact of Events outside Morocco on Local Opinion

The evolution of the situation in Tunis has been followed with great interest by French and Moroccans alike. The former naturally view developments with some misgiving as they fear that, if their Government are forced to grant concessions to the Tunisians, similar action may have to be taken here. Official circles are under the impression, for instance, that the suggested reforms provide for the replacement of French "Contrôleurs Civils" by Tunisians. If such a step were to be taken in the French Zone the situation, especially in such large centres as Casablanca, might be very dangerous if and when the unruly elements of the population got out of hand.

Events in Egypt and the elections in Libya have also been watched closely but do not appear to have had any particular influence on local opinion.

7. Press

As bi-monthly "Press Notes" are now being produced regularly, this section is now being devoted solely to matters affecting the press, instead of including, as hitherto, the reactions of the latter to world and local news.

The improvement in the tone of Pierrat's articles in *L'Echo du Maroc* in so far as Britain is concerned has been maintained.

The Nationalist weekly newspaper *Al Istiqlal* did not appear on Saturday, 22nd March, having suspended publication in view of a warning given to its owner-manager, Abderrahim Bouabid, that the management of a newspaper was inconsistent with his calling as a lawyer. It reappeared, however, the following week, but gave no reason for so doing.

A new weekly Moroccan newspaper in French *La Liberté* made its appearance at Casablanca at the end of January and was stated to be the organ of the Moroccan Democratic Party of Free Men. It presents the French viewpoint and is anti-Nationalist.

8. Air Bases

Work on the new strategic air bases appears to be proceeding rapidly. The local press has, however, reproduced many press telegrams originating in the United States in regard to alleged delays and wastage in their construction and to the mishandling of funds. The Atlas Construction Company is said to be the real culprit, but Colonel Derby, the Chief Engineer of the 5th United States Air Division, has had to bear the responsibility and is to be transferred from Morocco and replaced by another officer.

9. Death of His Majesty King George VI

Messages of sympathy in the bereavement suffered by the Royal Family were received from all quarters and were, without doubt, genuinely sincere. The Resident-General ordered a period of fifteen days' mourning during which French and Sherifian flags were flown at half mast on all Government buildings.

A memorial service was held in Rabat on the day of His late Majesty's funeral and was attended by the Sultan's eldest son (see also section 1 above), the Resident-General, the Grand Vizir, the Consular Corps, all senior officials of the Protectorate in Rabat, the British community, and many non-official French and Moroccans. A similar service was held at Casablanca.

10. Miscellaneous

A party of Moroccans, accompanied by the Moroccan delegate of the Information Services at the Residency, left for the United Kingdom at the beginning of March. The party was frequently referred to as a "Moroccan Press Delegation" and this

called forth protests by the Nationalist newspapers, whose representatives had not been included. They complained to the Resident-General, and sent telegrams to the B.B.C. and the British Press Association stating that the delegation was in no way " representative."

General Duval, the Commander-in-Chief of Troops in the French Zone, recently issued a call to all French soldiers returning to France after their military service in Morocco to make known to their families and friends the truth about the great work which France has done and continues to do here.

Visits by American high-ranking officers and others have continued, but on a somewhat smaller scale than during the last quarter. The most important visit was that paid early in February by twelve United States journalists, who were received by the Resident-General.

Notable British visitors during the quarter were Her Majesty's Minister at Paris, Brigadier Stayner, commanding troops in Gibraltar, Professor Arberry, fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Dr. Pridie, Senior Medical Officer of the Colonial Office. Other visitors included M. Paul Raynaud, M. Puaux and the Empress of Annam.

Units of the British and Dutch fleets and the French training ship *Jeanne d'Arc* visited French Moroccan ports during the quarter.

British Consulate General,
Rabat,
10th April, 1952.

JF 1013/7 No. 4

FRENCH MOROCCO: POLITICAL REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED 30th JUNE, 1952

Consul-General Freese Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (Received 15th July)

(No. 33. Restricted) *Rabat,*
Sir, *10th July, 1952.*

With reference to Mr. Coe's despatch No. 20 of 10th April, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended 30th June.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, the Regional Information Officer in Beirut, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis and to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I have, &c.
H. W. A. FREESE PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure in No. 4

Political Report on the French Zone of Morocco for the Quarter ended 30th June, 1952

1. General

The second quarter of this year was extremely quiet in the French Zone of Morocco: it was a period of waiting and watching. No reply was received to the Sultan's memorandum on reforms and it was evident that French policy towards Morocco would have to take second place to their policy towards Tunisia. The Resident-General was absent from Rabat for reasons of health for almost the entire period under review and the incidence of Ramadan was not conducive to political activity. The Casablanca Fair was the only local event of any importance.

2. Political

General Guillaume, who had become run down after his exacting tours during the winter, was advised by his doctors to take a complete rest and he first tried the local hill resort of Ifrane. His health improved there and he wished to resume his duties, but he was strongly advised to extend his leave by going to France, where he stayed at Vichy and later in the French Alps. He also visited Paris for political consultations and, although it was expected that he would bring back with him the French reply to the Sultan's proposals about reforms, he returned without it and announced that he would visit Paris again in July, by which time the reply would be ready. The delay in sending this reply was hardly surprising in view of the French Government's preoccupation with events in Tunisia nor has there been much adverse criticism of its absence: the French are in no hurry for it to arrive and

the Nationalists are too sceptical of its probable content to be seriously concerned for the present. Of far more importance to both sides have been the debates on Tunisia in Paris and the French proposals for reforms in that country; these have met with sharp criticism for their leniency by a section of French opinion and for their insincerity by the Nationalist press. Mr. Dean Acheson's statements about the importance of the French position in North Africa—as also his later refusal to support the Arabs' request for a discussion of North African affairs at the United Nations—were published under banner headlines but criticism of the Americans continues and Marshal Juin's plain speaking on the subject received some favourable comment in the press.

In the above circumstances there has been very little activity among political parties but Hassan el Ouezzani's party is believed to have made some headway at the Istiqlal's expense, its appeal being democratic as against the Istiqlal's more blatant and Fascist tendencies. The party is very well off financially having collected considerable sums at Fez, Ouezzani's home town, but its more moderate aims have less attraction for the masses than for the educated classes.

There has been no rioting or disorder of any consequence but the Arabs boycotted the Trade Fair at Casablanca and, to a lesser degree, those at Fez and Rabat. The Istiqlal party also cancelled its customary reception on the Aid el Seghir at the end of Ramadan, as an act of mourning for events in Tunisia.

3. Communism

Nothing to report.

4. Relations between political parties and the Administration

Nothing to report.

5. French administrative policy

Little to report beyond the establishment of a new four-year plan with the emphasis on social welfare, large sums having been earmarked for public health, housing and education.

In May the former Department of Commerce and Agriculture was divided into two departments under separate directors—one being for Commerce and Shipping and the other for Agriculture and Forests.

At the end of this quarter the Conseil du Gouvernement held its summer session under the chairmanship of the Resident-General. A small supplementary estimate was approved to cover administration expenses and a general discussion took place on matters relating to the economic and social welfare of the zone.

6. Impact of events outside Morocco on local opinion

Events in Tunisia (as above) held public interest to the exclusion of almost everything else. Political events in Egypt were reported factually but without comment as also the controversy regarding the future of King Talal: in the latter case, however, the Nationalist press took the occasion to suggest that his mental derangement was a fiction created by the British with a view to securing his deposition. The newspapers published the regular agency reports about the American presidential elections but there was no editorial comment, interest in American affairs being primarily directed to Mr. Acheson's statements about North Africa and the impending case before the International Court at The Hague affecting American commercial rights in this country.

7. Press

Comment on current affairs is being covered in " Press Notes " and has for the most part run true to form.

In May *El Moghreb*, a new Arab publicaaion in Rabat, was suspended for a month for publishing material which was liable to disturb public order and *El Rai al Amm*, a newspaper of the Ouezzani Party, was suspended for two months for the same reason. Hassan el Ouezzani is now publishing two more newspapers—an Arab weekly and a French daily at Casablanca.

The press laws in French Morocco have recently undergone an important modification. Although press censorship has been lifted, a dahir has been published under which the penalties for seditious articles have been greatly increased—the maximum being a fine of 30 million francs or five years' imprisonment; these penalties are far more severe than those under the former censorship regulations.

8. Air bases

Structural work is proceeding apace. American civil personnel (but not military personnel) are gradually to be replaced by French.

General Walsh is setting up in Casablanca provisional regional headquarters for the United States Corps of Engineers matters for bases in North Africa: Tripoli will be included in his jurisdiction.

9. Miscellaneous

Mr. Henry A. Byroade, the recently-appointed Under-Secretary for Near Eastern and African Affairs at the State Department, paid a visit to the French Zone of Morocco on 2nd May, and left the following day: he was received by the Sultan and by the Resident-General. There was considerable criticism in all quarters, American included, against his having made the visit so short.

An American Library was opened in Rabat in June containing a large selection of periodicals and books relating to the United States. It is proving to be a popular institution among all sections of the public, including the Arabs.

A large air meeting was held in Casablanca at the beginning of May. The attendance was 35,000 including the French Minister for Air, Prince Moulay Hassan, General Guillaume (before leaving for France) and other distinguished personalities.

The Casablanca Fair was held in June, and although it was childishly boycotted by the Sultan and most of the Moorish population, it was a distinct success. The fair attracted over 4,000 exhibitors, fifteen foreign delegations (including one from Western Germany) and 300,000 visitors. The bulk of the exhibits were French, but there were more British goods than on previous occasions. The closing banquet was presided over by the French Minister for Commerce and Industry and by General Guillaume; there were some 400 guests present. This event is but a further indication of the rapidly increasing importance of Casablanca: as regards shipping, it was announced in April that during 1951 nearly 8 million tons had passed through the port—a figure which is only exceeded in metropolitan France by the port of Marseilles (nearly 15 million tons).

Twelve ships of the French fleet visited Casablanca from Brest from 14th to 23rd June under the command of Vice-Admiral Pothuau; some of the ships went on to Safi and Agadir. Two Brazilian training ships visited Casablanca in May–June.

British Consulate-General,
Rabat, 10th July, 1952.

JF 1041/234

No. 5

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR

Findings of The Hague Court in Respect to Morocco

Mr. Eden to Sir O. Harvey (Paris)

(No. 877. Confidential)
(Guard) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *2nd September, 1952.*

When he came to see me this morning, the French Ambassador mentioned that his Government was well content with the findings of The Hague Court in respect to Morocco. At least there would be an end of the present state of affairs, which was profoundly unsatisfactory. The Americans observed no local restrictions or regulations of any kind; when stopped by the police they were in the habit of waving a hand at them, saying: "Americans," and driving on. Conduct of this kind was really intolerable. Thanks to The Hague Court's decision, this should now be effectively regulated.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Madrid, The Hague, Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

No. 6

POLITICAL REPORT, JULY–SEPTEMBER, 1952

Mr. Consul-General Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Eden. (Received 29th October)

Rabat,
(No. 49) *21st October, 1952.*

1. *General.*—There was a marked revival of political activity during the quarter under review. The principal events were the pronouncement on the 27th August by The Hague Court of their judgment in a dispute relating to French economic measures and

American rights in this country, and the delivery on the 17th September of the French reply to the Sultan's memorandum of last March. Both of these matters raised questions affecting the status of Morocco and provided an interesting prelude for the main topic of political importance to-day which is the resolution of the Arab-Asiatic countries concerning Tunis and Morocco before the General Assembly of the United Nations. They likewise offered scope for testing Franco-American relations in a variety of contexts.

The Resident-General visited Paris several times on consultation and, when in Morocco, he continued his tours up-country so far as his duties in Rabat permitted. He was awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

2. *Activities of Political Parties.*—The "Istiqlal" party devoted their energies almost exclusively to the international issues mentioned in the preceding paragraph and to propaganda relating thereto, since the correspondence between the French Government and the Sultan about reforms had not been published and the Nationalists assumed that the French reply would anyhow be unsatisfactory. In July and August there was considerable speculation as to its probable contents and as to whether the repeated postponement of its delivery were not due to disagreement between the French Government and Protectorate authorities, but when it was eventually handed in on the 17th September, interest in it had already been superseded by the impending discussions in the United Nations, where the publicity opportunities for the Nationalist cause were far greater.

Allal el Fassi, the leader of the Istiqlal Party, visited Scandinavia, where he was apparently well received on his personal assessment of the merits of his cause. He then went to Switzerland and to South America, where he is endeavouring to win the support of "anti-colonist" countries whose voting strength in the United Nations could become a valuable asset, but he is reported to have met with little success, particularly in Argentina. He proposes to go from there to New York.

The Ouezzani democratic party has in the meantime been making some headway with less spectacular slogans, pressing for the recognition of Moroccan independence and the admission of Morocco to membership of the Arab League. Hassan el Ouezzani has been in Egypt, where his friendship with Abdelkrim earned him some prestige, and hopes to go to the United States for the meeting of the General Assembly.

Rumours were current that the Glaoui was disposed to make up his quarrel with the Sultan but it was authoritatively stated that he would only do so if the Sultan broke with the Istiqlal leaders. The Glaoui, who visited France during the summer, retained the confidence of the French authorities, but reports that he intended to visit New York during the United Nations session have so far not been confirmed. During his visit to Paris he was received by President Auriol and he attended the ceremony in July at which Marshal Juin was presented with a field-marshal's baton which had been bought by subscriptions from his well-wishers in Morocco.

3. *Communism.*—In August the French authorities engaged in extensive "cleaning up" operations in Casablanca in the course of which the houses of four Communist leaders were raided by the police after the dissemination of seditious propaganda. M. Lamoureux, an active member of the party, was expelled from the country and Ali Yata, a former secretary-general of the party who had been expelled from Morocco at the end of last year, was arrested in Algiers on the order of a judge in Casablanca and held for extradition to Morocco: the seditious pamphlets were stated to have been distributed on his instructions. Although the press reported that the house searches of the Communist leaders were a sequel to the searches made of Communist headquarters in France, they were doubtless made in order to forestall any use that the Nationalists might make of these men if they wished to start trouble.

4. *Relations between political leaders and parties and the French Administration.*—As stated above, local political parties and their leaders were looking to the international forum as offering the best prospect for furthering the Nationalist cause, and there was little occasion for them to have any dealings of consequence with the local French authorities. Protectorate officials, however, were not entirely out of touch with them and M. Siraud, the economic advisor to the protectorate, had a friendly talk with some of the Nationalists about the errors of their economic emotions, when the complexities of The Hague dispute got rather beyond their comprehension.

Internal political issues depended on the diplomatic exchanges between the Sultan and the French Government and on the personal relations between the Sultan and

the Resident General, which remained good. The Sultan, whose astuteness and courtesy can be relied upon, was careful not to prejudice his position by making any false moves or by acting as a mouthpiece for extremist opinion. Despite pressure from the Istiqlal Party (and the influence of his politically-minded son, Prince Moulay Hassan) he endeavoured to steer his own course to retain his personal power as both the political and the religious head of the State, and recent events in Egypt may well have served as a timely warning against irresponsible or precipitate action. In his relations with the French he has, therefore, endeavoured to keep all doors open in the hope of achieving objectives by negotiation, however irreconcilable their respective viewpoints may be.

5. *Developments in French administrative policy, proposals for constitutional reforms, &c.*—No measures have been taken towards constitutional reform during the past quarter since the French reply to the Sultan's memorandum was only delivered in September and any progress must depend, in the first instance at any rate, on how this correspondence develops and on how far the Sultan can keep the negotiations in his own hands despite the clamourings of the extremists. While the Sultan's objectives correspond largely with the long-term objectives of the Protecting Power, there is a wide difference of opinion as to the means and speed of their possible achievement. The French insist that reforms must start from the bottom upwards and proceed at a tempo corresponding to the political evolution of the country whereas the Sultan considers that they must start from the top and that a provisional Moroccan Government should be set up to negotiate a new political régime with the French. This subject, however, belongs more properly to the current quarter when, in the beginning of October the Sultan published a statement covering his negotiations with the French over the past two years.

6. *The judgment of The Hague Court.*—On August 27th the International Court delivered an important judgment in a dispute over the rights of United States citizens in French Morocco, which had originated in the issue of a residential decree in December 1948 relating to the control of imports. This complicated case raised two main issues, namely, whether the economic measures taken by the Protectorate authorities infringed the provisions of the Act of Algeciras and the extent to which United States citizens could still claim capitulatory privileges in this country. On the first point the Court ruled against the French: this has resulted in the French having to revise their economic policy for this country in such a way as to eliminate discrimination in favour of French imports while still protecting the Moroccan franc and the development of local industries: decrees for this purpose were issued early in October. On the second point the Court's decision almost entirely upheld the French thesis and on the same day the United States Government took the necessary steps to comply with its ruling. The Court pronounced that the only special rights which the United States Government could claim were those secured by the Treaty of Meknes of 1836 whereby disputes involving their own nationals (only) fell within the juridisdiction of their own Consular Courts, and those granted under the Act of Algeciras which provided for consular jurisdiction in certain specified but relatively minor matters. The Court rejected their claims to exemption from Moroccan legislation unless it had first received the approval of the United States Government and to consular jurisdiction in all cases where a United States citizen was a defendent: these claims were based on most-favoured-nation rights which were held to have expired when first the Spanish Government and Her Majesty's Government gave up their capitulations. The more important consequences of this decision are that United States citizens are in the same position as everyone else in having to comply with Moroccan economic and fiscal legislation and that the long arm of the law can operate far more effectively against them, when necessary, by their being subject to the jurisdiction of the French Courts (except in the few cases referred to above). These matters were of little importance before 1950 when United States citizens in this country were few but with their great influx since that date for building air bases, the clarification of their status became increasingly necessary, and it was welcomed in all responsible quarters as removing a source of considerable friction from the day-to-day relations between the authorities of the two countries.

7. *The s.s.* Corsica *affair.*—A major local scandal occurred in August when the s.s. *Corsica,* which had been chartered for the journey of pilgrims to Jedda, arrived at Casablanca with a heavy list and was pronounced to be unseaworthy and insanitary by an official commission. Since local law required that persons organising pilgrim transportation should obtain the approval of the Protectorate authorities, the latter were indirectly involved and serious political consequences might have ensued. Air transportation was, however, promptly organised by the Protectorate authorities, at their expense, to enable the 800 stranded pilgrims to reach Mecca in time; by this admirably executed emergency operation the authorities retrieved the position. By order of the Resident-General the *Corsica* was seized and a judicial enquiry opened, the result of which is still awaited—as is also a decision as to who will eventually have to pay the air transportation charges which are estimated to have amounted to about 80 million francs.

8. *Impact of events outside Morocco on local opinion.*—Under this heading the pride of place can unhesitatingly be awarded to the Arab-Asian countries for their complaint to the United Nations about French shortcomings in Morocco. Their resolution has unleashed a propaganda war on a vast scale and it has been waged on all sides with unrelenting determination. Leaving aside the differences between principal antagonists in the case, the issue has focused the limelight on Franco-American relations and on the degree to which the Americans, for all their strategic interests in this area, are regarded by the French as politically reliable for securing what has been described as the southern pillar of Europe's defences. Some allowance has been made for the imminence of the presidential elections and for the understandable preference of the United States Government to take the path of least resistance in present circumstances by voting for the inclusion of this resolution on the agenda: criticism has also been tempered by the realisation that co-operation must continue, and by reports that M. Schumann's views differed from those of his Government as to the tactics to be adopted. The attitude of Her Majesty's Government has been warmly commended but, by being taken for granted, it has received less publicity than might have been otherwise expected.

Interest in Tunis has slipped considerably and Egypt has offered more scope for moralising, having been regarded by the Nationalists for some time as their ideal of a progressive independent Arab State with a monarch worthy of his calling. The abdication, however, of King Farouk and the revelations of bribery and corruption in high quarters have shaken this admiration very considerably, and they have been used as object lessons for what might happen here at some future date if similar conditions should be allowed to prevail.

9. *Press.*—Comment on current affairs has been covered in "Press Notes." The visits of the Secretary of State to Belgrade and Vienna were prominently reported and the part played by Her Majesty's Government at Strasbourg and elsewhere in the reconstruction of Europe has received favourable comment. Both Persia and Egypt offered commentators interesting material for essays in Anglo-American co-operation. The Presidental election in the United States aroused little enthusiasm since foreign policy appeared likely to be much the same, whichever candidate proved successful. Issues, however, which directly affected Morocco easily held the field.

In September M. Marcel Peyrouton resigned from his post of political director of *Maroc Presse* and of director-general of the *Atlantic Courier* and this latter newspaper, which was an American edition of *Maroc Presse,* ceased publication.

10. *Air Bases.*—The controversies in the United States over the cost of the construction of the air bases here, and over the shortcomings of the contractors, received a certain amount of local publicity. Progress on them has continued but owing to the hesitation of Congress to vote the necessary funds before the Presidential election, work on them has slowed down and a number of Americans have left. The total number of Americans in Morocco, including both civil and military personnel, has fluctuated between 15,000 and 20,000. The pipe lines between Casablanca and Sidi-Slimane and between Casablanca and Nouaceur have been almost completed.

A number of American officials and others visited Morocco for the purpose of inspecting the air bases. These included Mr. Finletter, Secretary for War for the air force; Senators Russell B. Long and Wayne Morse; Mr. Earl D. Johnston, Assistant Secretary of the Army; Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Associate Secretary of Defence; Mr. John F. Floberg, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air and Vice-Admiral Jerald Wright, Commander-in-Chief United States Naval Forces Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean.

11. *Miscellaneous.*—The Argentine Government closed their Consulate-General in July. The Spanish Consul-General, who had been dean of the corps, was transferred to Madrid and his successor arrived shortly afterwards. The Portuguese Consul was transferred but no successor has yet been named.

Military manœuvres, to which the Consular Corps were invited, were held in the Middle Atlas at the beginning of August.

Greek and Portuguese training vessels visited the port of Casablanca during the quarter.

JF 1041/295

No. 7

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR

Problem of Tunis and Morocco

Mr. Eden to Sir O. Harvey (Paris)

(No. 1051. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *4th November, 1952.*

The French Ambassador came to see me this evening, when he said that he had been instructed by his Government to give me an account of how they intended to handle the Tunis problem at U.N.O. He left the attached memorandum with me.

2. M. Massigli went on to say that since he had received this instruction, there had been a further development so far as the American attitude was concerned. Mr. Acheson had written M. Schuman a letter, which had been received on 1st November, and which was most disturbing in character. It was not possible for the French Government to give us a copy of the letter because it was in the nature of a private communication to M. Schuman, but they wished me to know the essentials. These were: that the Americans proposed to vote in favour of the competence of U.N.O. to discuss the Tunisian and Moroccan questions, and that they proposed to do so " for juridical reasons."

3. I expressed my astonishment at this, but the Ambassador insisted it was so. The letter had also suggested that while U.N.O. could not settle anything, it was hoped that fruitful discussions could be initiated between the parties concerned. Mr. Acheson had also said in his letter that he was ready to discuss the situation with M. Schuman at any time in New York. He had not mentioned British participation in the discussions, but the Ambassador agreed with my suggestion that this might have been due to doubt as to whether I was going to be in New York at the time. I said that I had already received a message from Mr. Acheson saying he wanted to see me as soon as possible after my arrival and would come up from Washington at any time. I had suggested that he and M. Schuman might lunch with me on Monday.

4. M. Massigli said that M. Bonnet had also had a talk with Mr. Bruce in Washington and this had brought no comfort at all to the French. They sought to obtain confirmation that the Americans would be opposed to any Moroccan or Tunisian delegation being allowed to appear before the Assembly. The French had also made plain that they were not prepared to have any form of U.N.O. enquiry into proceedings in Tunis or Morocco. They had received no assurance of American support on either of these topics. Indeed, Mr. Bruce had not wished to commit himself at all. They understood that one of the officials of the State Department had made comments which appeared to indicate that he thought there would be no harm at all in the representatives of the Bey or of the Sultan of Morocco appearing.

5. M. Massigli said that as a result of all this M. Bonnet was profoundly disturbed and had sent a communication to Paris, urging the French to take the strongest possible line with the United States on this issue now, otherwise the consequences for close co-operation between the Western countries might be really serious.

6. I said that this was indeed disquieting news. I had always known that the limited support the United States had given on a previous occasion, that of abstension, had been thought by Mr. Acheson to be a very unpopular course. But I had not expected the Americans to swing over to this extent. The Ambassador said he knew our position and urged me to take the earliest opportunity for making it clear to the Americans. I asked M. Massigli whether he knew when M. Schuman was going to New York. He replied that he did not, but he would find out. I said that in the meanwhile I would consider whether I should send a message to Mr. Acheson expressing our concern at these reports and pointing out that the problem of Tunis and Morocco was not merely a French one and that any decisions of this kind must have far reaching consequences. The Ambassador said he would be most grateful if this could be done as soon as possible.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Rabat and Tunis, and also to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations at New York.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

Enclosure in No. 7

Les intentions du Gouvernement français concernant la tactique à suivre au cours des débats de la Commission politique sur les questions tunisienne et marocaine sont, actuellement, les suivantes:

(1) Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères désire prendre la parole le premier, à la Commission politique, dès l'appel par le Président du point concernant la Tunisie, et son intervention portera à la fois sur les deux Protectorats.

(2) Le Gouvernement français n'admettant pas la compétence et ne pouvant accepter l'ingérence des Nations Unies dans les rapports franco-tunisiens et franco-marocains, le Ministre déclarera que la France ne se ralliera à aucun projet de recommandation et qu'elle considèrera comme lettre morte toute recommandation qui serait adoptée par la Commission ou dans la suite.

(3) Le Ministre ne participera à aucun moment ni à la discussion, ni aux votes qui pourraient intervenir; son siège restera donc vide jusqu'à la fin du débat et sa conclusion.

(4) Le Ministre souhaiterait vivement que la question de l'audition de prétendus représentants tunisiens et marocains ne fût pas posée avant son exposé. Si elle devait l'être, il demanderait que l'examen en soit reporté après celui-ci. Dans le cas où il n'obtiendrait pas satisfaction, il quitterait son siège; il le reprendrait, une fois cette question terminée, pour faire son exposé.

(5) Durant les débats, la délégation française maintiendra dans les couloirs un contact étroit avec les autres délégations et, en particulier, avec celles sur le concours desquelles elle peut compter, en vue de redresser les assertions mensongères et tendancieuses des adversaires de la France, et de s'efforcer d'orienter la discussion dans le sens le moins défavorable aux intérets français.

(6) Il serait évidemment du plus grand intérêt, à tous égards, et en particulier en vue de l'avenir des pourparlers entre la France et les deux protectorats, que l'Assemblée se prononçat formellement contre la compétence des Nations Unies en la matière et mit ainsi un point final aux prétentions du groupe arabo-asiatique. Un tel vote ne devrait cependant être envisagé que si l'on pouvait être assuré, grâce à un appui actif et total de la délégation américaine, d'une majorité en faveur de l'incompétence. Dans le cas où il n'en serait pas ainsi, il conviendra de tout faire pour éviter un scrutin qui risquerait de n'être pas favorable à la thèse française.

(7) Le Schema de l'intervention du Ministre s'inspirera des considérations récemment exposées par M. de Crouy-Chanel à Mr. P. Mason. Le Ministre compte développer les idées suivantes:—

incompétence des Nations Unies;

limites et périls d'une ingérence de l'organisation internationale au mépris des principes de la Charte;

nature des rapports franco-tunisiens et franco-marocains; objectifs poursuivis;

œuvre réalisée; réformes élaborées par le Gouvernement français et dont les manœuvres du groupe arabo-asiatique ont empêché jusqu'ici l'aboutissement;

comparaisons éventuelles entre la situation économique et sociale dans les deux protectorats et dans d'autres pays;

responsabilités nationales et internationales qui incombent à la France et auxquelles elle n'entend pas renoncer;

danger que présenterait non seulement pour les peuples tunisien et marocain, mais également pour l'ensemble de la communauté des pays libres un affaiblissement de la solidarité qui lie la France à son prolongement africain

JF 1016/23 No. 8

SIR A. RUMBOLD'S IMPRESSION OF FRENCH MOROCCO

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (Received 31st December)

(No. 670. Confidential) *Paris,*
Sir, *29th December, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit a copy of a very interesting note by Sir A. Rumbold recording an impression of French Morocco following a brief visit which he recently paid to that country. He draws particular attention to the characteristics of the Berbers, who are the preponderant element. His conclusion, with which I agree, is that largely because of these characteristics the French ought to have no trouble in maintaining themselves in Morocco for a great many years to come, provided they do not lose their nerve. I also agree with his concluding remark that we ought to support the French to the hilt in Morocco not only on general grounds but on the merits of the case itself.

2. The French take the view that political reforms in Morocco, as in Tunisia, must be begun at the lowest level and that before there can be any kind of representative government at the centre the people must first learn the processes of democracy in their local communities. This doctrine is no doubt right and there is no reason why even the Berbers in the wilder parts of Morocco should not begin to be taught their first steps in self-administration. Where I think the French record can be criticised is in unnecessary dilatoriness in introducing these reforms and in failure to fill minor administrative and technical posts with natives instead of employing a host of *petits fonctionnaires* from France, though the French defend themselves against this latter charge by telling one that it is extremely difficult to persuade the natives to take advantage of the facilities which are offered to them and that they are not generally interested in occupying minor posts in the civil service or on the railways.

3. In your despatch No. 559 of 11th June last you wrote that you shared my view of the importance of senior members of my staff from time to time visiting the French territories in North Africa. I have no doubt Sir A. Rumbold's visit was fully justified.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consul-General, Rabat.

I have, &c.
OLIVER HARVEY.

Enclosure in No. 8

An Impression of French Morocco

In a recent article about French Morocco *The Times* correspondent in Paris wrote that out of a total native population of 8 million there were 3 million Berbers. The correct figures are more like 10 million and 6 million. The enemies of the French connexion maintain that the population is actually 12 million or more, but they do this in order to make the number of schools, hospitals, &c., appear more inadequate than it actually is, and their argument is self-defeating since the growth of the population is a measure of the prosperity which the French have brought. The population has about trebled since 1912. But the important point is that, whatever the actual figures, a high proportion of the population are Berbers, for this is the main factor distinguishing Morocco from Tunisia and it is what makes the French position in Morocco so strong.

Before the French appeared on the scene Morocco had never been politically unified, except on a short and precarious basis, and its component races and tribes remain more or less distinct from one another. Arabs proper are only numerous in the towns and the population as a whole is much more "backward" than the population of Tunisia in the sense that fewer of them understand or appreciate the benefits of modern civilisation. The main currents of history have passed them by. Tunisia, on the other hand, has formed a settled part of a series of empires beginning with the Carthaginian and ending with the Ottoman, and its inhabitants are a homogeneous Mediterranean mixture. They are more like Levantines.

The Sultan of Morocco owes his position entirely to the French. Before 1912 his predecessors' influence only extended a short way around Fez. The remainder of the country was organised, as indeed it still is largely, on a sort of tribal basis. The tribesmen owed allegiance to their Caids, who spent their time making war upon one another and upon the Sultan. The French imposed the suzerainty of the Sultan over the whole country, but the process was gradual and was not completed until shortly before the last war. They made generous settlements with the various Caids after defeating them and enlisted them as their allies after the Roman fashion in their further campaigns of pacification. Apart from his religious rôle, the Sultan was also transformed in the course of this process into a symbol of Moroccan unity and internal peace which the chiefs accepted as being what the French wanted and as bringing material advantages with it.

One often hears it said that Morocco is "still medieval." It would be more truthful to say that it had recently *become* medieval. The social development of Casablanca and one or two other minor industrial coast towns may correspond to that of the England of 1850, but they are freaks. The rest of the country has just emerged out of the Dark Ages into the Middle Ages. The feudal system has been established and the Caids pay grudging tribute to the Sultan instead of fighting him and disputing his title. Fortunately for them the same system enables them to extort correspondingly large sums out of their own people who are in turn better able to pay because of the prosperity brought by French rule. The Sultan made about £400,000 in gifts and tribute when the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession was recently celebrated.

But not many of these Caids feel any more loyalty to the Sultan's person or house than did the English barons to those of King John. Some of the Pashas in the larger towns, such as Casablanca (Pasha being the town equivalent of Caid), are Arabs and nominees of the Sultan or of his Grand Vizier. But about 180 out of 250 of the Caids and Pashas are Berbers. They have to pay as it were an entrance fee and an annual subscription and they have to be approved by the Sultan and by the French, but they are chosen from the leading families of their particular tribes. Thus the Pasha of Marrakesh, who is the one about whom everybody knows, because he is specially rich and powerful, is called El Glaoui after his tribe, the Glaoua, on the same principle as "the Mackintosh." El Glaoui is not on speaking terms with the Sultan and makes no effort even before foreign visitors to conceal his dislike and contempt for him.

The hostility between the majority of the chiefs and the Sultan seems to have increased in the last year or two, mainly as a result of the equivocal attitude adopted by the Sultan towards the Istiqlal Party. The Istiqlal is directed by intellectuals drawing sustenance from the University of Fez, it is prompted and helped by Communists and it operates principally among the proletariat of Casablanca. It is Left-wing, urban and anti-religious. Obviously it offers no attractions to the chiefs or, indeed, to any of the Moroccan countrymen. The Sultan seems to be frightened of the movement. He knows that, if its leaders by some unlucky chance obtained power in the country, his days as Sultan would be numbered. But he has never denounced it for fear of alienating its supporters.

There is no other kind of nationalist movement in Morocco. A recent Foreign Office paper about nationalism refers with approval to what it calls "healthy" nationalism, which it describes as being based on "sober pride and patriotism" and as springing from "a legitimate aspiration to self-government and a place in the comity of nations." The Berbers seem to be intensely proud people where such things as personal honour, possessions, family and so forth are concerned, but their emotions are probably not very deeply stirred by the thought of the Cherifian Empire. Self-government they already have (though not democratic government) in all fields in which they might normally be expected to be interested and in which they possess the necessary qualifications, *e.g.*, in legislation affecting their relations with one another as individuals, the administration of civil, commercial and criminal law, religious questions, &c. They are not self-governing when it comes to such things as "planning" or the preparation of the State budget, but they have some say even in these and the development of the country is anyway dependent on private French capital investments and direct subventions from the metropolitan budget. They are not concerned about the comity of nations. This does not mean that the Moroccan chiefs are collaborators in the sense in which the Tunisian Prime Minister, Baccouche, is really a collaborator. Tunisian self-government is a possibility. Full Moroccan self-government is unthinkable for years to come and the chiefs neither want it nor expect it in their lifetimes. The only alternative they know to the settled conditions of the feudal system and the French Protectorate is the system of internecine quarrelling which preceded the protectorate and to which they are not anxious to return. Nor are the tribesmen, mountaineers, peasants, &c., who compose the great bulk of the population,

tempted to risk losing the various improvements which they have gained in their standard of living.

If so many French did not have guilt feelings about Morocco there would be less trouble. The guilt complex about subject races which continually crops up in the French press and in Parliament is the main reason why the Moroccans are so uncertain about the future, and it is this uncertainty which is at the origin of all French troubles in Morocco. The situation was neatly summed up for me by a French officer who has been in Morocco since he was a boy. He told me that when an area had been pacified it was the custom of the Caid to say to his son that, although he himself had fought against the French, the future now lay in co-operating with them. The same son to whom this remark had been addressed in his youth was now the Caid and what he said to his son was that the future was very uncertain and he must be careful not to commit himself to be either the ally or the enemy of the French. The moral of this tale was that if only the French Government would continue to say in a loud clear voice that they had no intention of even considering leaving Morocco for a very long time to come, that they were not going to allow any third party, whether the United Nations or anyone else, to interfere in Morocco and that they were going to introduce reforms at the pace which they thought possible, then the doubts and hesitations of the Moroccans (including the Sultan) would be dissolved and their co-operation with the French would again be as wholehearted as it used to be.

Lack of confidence in the rectitude of French policy and general defeatism about the future seem to increase as one gets nearer Paris. They are more noticeable, for example, among the Quai d'Orsay people who are seconded for a year or two to the Central Administration at Rabat than they are among the Native Affairs' officers or French business men farther afield, who have a permanent attachment to the country and must be assumed to know a good deal more about it. The latter sometimes say that the Americans are primarily responsible for the prevailing uncertainty, but, when this is disputed, they generally admit that the main culprits have been the successive French Governments, whose weakness has prevented them from following a firm and consistent policy. Even at Casablanca, which is the only place where there are large agglomerations of Moroccans attracted by the comparatively high wages offered in the new factories and living in slum conditions and where the worst excesses occurred in the recent riots, confidence about the future among the French is more marked than in Rabat. The business men see signs of a small recession round the corner, but they explain this by reference to the general shortage of capital everywhere and the growth of confidence in France itself, which results in less funk money flowing into Morocco. They do not seem to be in the least worried about the safety of their investments in Morocco.

If these impressions are well founded, the conclusion to be drawn is that, if the French have a mind to maintain their position in Morocco, they should have no difficulty in doing so. Nobody looks more than a year or two ahead in politics nowadays and many times that number of years will have to elapse before any serious thought need be given to the possibility of Moroccan "autonomy" at which the resolution passed by the Political Committee of the United Nations Assembly at New York nevertheless invites the French to aim. As for ourselves, not only must we continue to support the French to the hilt in Morocco on general grounds, but we can do so with a clear conscience on the merits of the case itself.

CHAPTER II.—SPANISH MOROCCO

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/2 No. 9

POLITICAL REPORT, OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1951

Mr. Consul-General Hope-Gill to Mr. Eden. (Received 10th March)

(No. 28) *Tetuan, 5th March, 1952.*

General

There has been increased political activity during this quarter which saw the conclusion of a *modus vivendi* between the Spanish authorities and the Moroccan National Reform Party led by Abdul Khaliq Torres.

While the Nationalists announced that they had, with the approval and support of the Arab League, asked Spain "to transfer authority within the Spanish Zone of Morocco to the hands of its sons, giving internal autonomy and self-government to the territory pending the solution of the conflict with France," Spanish official sources have been trying to belittle the scope and importance of the rapprochement with the Nationalists.

During his meeting with the new French Resident-General at Larache on December 12, the Spanish High Commissioner is reported to have informed General Guillaume of the progress of the negotiations with Abdul Khaliq Torres. General Valiño is also said to have given an assurance that the Nationalist leader, when back in Tetuan would not be allowed to embarrass the French.

2. Activities of Political Parties

The main activities of the parties have still shown themselves outside the Spanish Zone. Towards the end of the quarter, however, the Nationalists in Tetuan were busy preparing for the return of the exiled leader Si Abdul Khaliq Torres, distributing the Reform Party's clandestine broadsheets and collecting funds.

During this period, Tayib Bennuna, secretary of the party, went from Tangier on a special mission to Cairo on behalf of the National Front to help the Arab League in its negotiations with the Spanish Ambassador to Egypt.

Except for the interest roused by his articles in the Tangier Arabic daily newspaper *Minbar Ash-Sha'ab*, Mekki Nasiri, leader of the Moroccan Unity Party seems to be losing ground in the Spanish Zone of Morocco.

3. Communism and Labour

There has again been no evidence of any Communist activity.

Abdul Khaliq Torres declined an invitation to attend a meeting of a "Peace Congress" which was to be held in Yugoslavia towards the end of October.

4. Local Leaders and the Spanish Administration

(a) Khalifa

Relations between the Khalifa and the Spanish High Commission have been friendly. The former has been lending his support to General Valiño in his negotiations with the Moroccan Nationalists in Tangier.

The twenty-sixth anniversary of Mulay Hasan's appointment as the Sultan's Khalifa was celebrated in November.

His prestige with his fellow-countrymen is still low. His wife, Princess Lalla Fatima has been handed, at a special ceremony, the certificate and arm-band of Spanish Red Cross Nurse.

(b) Nationalists

Si Abdul Khaliq Torres during the whole of the quarter was in Tangier, where conversations for his return to Spanish Morocco went on with the Spanish Military Attaché. The Nationalist leader appears to be convinced that friendly relations with Spain would serve the interests of his party without weakening its claim to national independence.

5. Spanish Administrative Policy

There is very little to report. It has been decided that Moors are to be given employment in Government departments when vacancies occur but this measure applies so far only to minor positions such as those of *Practicante, Aparajador* (male nurses and

building overseers) and also to a few minor agricultural officials.

There were no signs of any substantial administrative reform or of the promised reshuffle and extension of the Makhzen "Government."

6. The Press

The local Spanish press has remained much the same. The Tetuan *Diario de Africa* was frequently unfriendly and at times hostile to Britain especially during the Egyptian crisis. It is confidentially reported that the High Commissioner warned the editor to be more careful in his comments about the Anglo-Egyptian dispute.

In contrast, comment and news in the bilingual *An Nahar El Día* were remarkably objective.

The Spanish authorities have adopted a more liberal attitude towards the Moroccan Nationalist press of Tangier and Rabat.

Although the ban has not yet been officially lifted, its direct distribution in this zone appears to be tolerated.

The Spanish censorship has lately been even encouraging the editorial staff of *An-Nahar* to reproduce articles from *Al Alam*, the Rabat Nationalist newspaper which has in the past been so markedly hostile to the late General Varela and his policy.

7. High Commissioner

General Valiño has again taken a keen and active interest in the management of the affairs of Spanish North Africa. In October he paid an official visit to Melilla and the eastern part of the Spanish Zone where he saw things for himself instead of merely relying on reports of his Native Affairs Department. As a result, he dismissed a senior Interventor and some other officials.

He also visited Arzila and its agricultural installations and in December paid a visit to Larache and Alcazarquivir. On December 12 he received General Guillaume at the "Palafito," near Larache.

At the same time, the High Commissioner maintained close contact with his Government by making frequent trips to the Peninsula.

General Valiño has at long last dispensed with the services of the inefficient extremely unpopular Chief of Economics and Trade but the other corrupt Heads of Departments are still in the saddle. (In private conversation this year he has told the Consul-General that he requires more time and is not yet satisfied with progress made. He was also unexpectedly critical of his predecessor.)

8. Capitulations, Treaty Rights, &c.

No fresh incident occurred during the quarter under review but the Rudge, Mohinani and Daswani cases are still awaiting a settlement in Madrid. So is the threat of further interference with the British missionary work in the Spanish Zone.

A sporadic press campaign against British capitulatory rights has been fully reported. Suffice it to say here that, as in the past, great patience has been necessary and every possible effort has, and is being, made by the Consulate-General to avoid friction and misunderstandings in the maintenance of British treaty rights and the protection of British interests. Even acute sufferers like Messrs. Rudge, Mohinani and Daswani have shown exemplary fortitude.

9. Reactions to Nearby and World Events

The grant of independence to Libya was hailed by the Moroccan Nationalists. It caused, however, dissatisfaction and fear in the minds of the Spaniards, who see all the less future for this vestigial appendix of their Spanish empire, the Moroccan Spanish Zone of influence and Sovereign Territories.

Developments in Tunisia and French Morocco continued to be followed with interest by Moors and Spaniards alike.

Politically conscious and unbiased Spaniards were almost entirely sympathetic to Britain in the case of Egypt and many others looked upon the use of force in the Suez Canal Zone as a useful precedent.

10. Miscellaneous

(a) The Muluya Dam

Apart from some preliminary road-making there is no progress to report.

(b) Calls for Tenders

The shortness of time allowed for the submission of tenders for official supplies is still causing damage to British participation. The position has been fully reported to the Foreign Office and Board of Trade.

(c) Gibraltar

The Caudillo's "Just, Sensible and True Words for the Restitution of Gibraltar to Spain" were warmly greeted by the Falangists while moderate Spaniards regard the claim as premature. Those who are in close contact with Algeciras and La Linea strongly deprecate the move. They assert that these rather poor territories in Southern Spain owe their comparative prosperity solely to the vicinity of the British Crown Colony.

JM 1013/5 No. 10

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE QUARTER ENDING 31st MARCH, 1952

Consul-General Wikeley to Mr. Eden. (Received 3rd June)

(No. 54. Confidential)

Her Majesty's Consul-General at Tetuan presents his compliments to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him a Political Report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended 31st March, 1952.

Tetuan, 16th May, 1952.

Enclosure in No. 10

Political Report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco

(For the quarter ended 31st March, 1952)

1. General

The outstanding events of the quarter, which was one of considerable political activity, were the return to Tetuan on 10th February of the Nationalist Reform Party's leaders, Si. Abdul Khaliq Torres and Si. Tayeb Benuna, after an enforced absence abroad of more than four years, and the meeting in Spain of His Highness the Khalifa and General Franco in January.

These two events ostensibly opened a new era of rapprochement and reconciliation between the Moroccans and the Spanish Administration and many persons thought that further spectacular developments were about to take place, but in this they were deceived.

The zone remained perfectly quiet during the quarter. On 30th March, the fortieth anniversary of the Treaty of Fez, a day of mourning was observed in Tetuan but there were no incidents.

2. Political Parties

With the return of Torres and Benuna, its leader and secretary-general respectively, the Hizb al Islah al Watani (the Reform Party) officially resumed its activities in the zone. The leader and his lieutenants, who were given an enthusiastic but orderly welcome by the Moors, spent the rest of the period covered by this report in cautiously feeling their way. Their difficulty, of course, is to obtain from the Administration sufficient freedom of action to enable them to convince their countrymen that they are something more than Spanish stooges and, to be effective, this evidence will have to be produced in the not very distant future. Torres's personal financial difficulties and his party's official lack of funds are, it is thought, being utilised by the Spaniards to the fullest extent in order to keep the party well under control.

The other Moroccan political parties have shown little activity in this zone. All that can be recorded is one visit to Tetuan by Haj Abdesselam Temsamani, second in command of the Moroccan Unity Party.

3. Communism

Nothing to report.

4. Local Leaders and Spanish Administration

Relations between the Khalifa and the Spanish Administration continued to be friendly. His Highness has again been lending his good offices in the negotiations between the High Commission and the Nationalists and, when Torres visited Tetuan on 9th January to discuss with the High Commissioner the conditions of his return, he visited the Khalifa both before and after his talk with General Valiño.

The Khalifa left Tetuan on 11th January for Madrid, where he, together with his brother and suite, was the guest of the Caudillo for several days. Soon after his return to Tetuan on 24th January His Highness addressed, through the press, a message to his "beloved subjects" in which he expressed his deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the talks which he had with the generalísimo. The conversations, he assured them, were held in an atmosphere of confidence, loyalty, affection and understanding. He also referred to the "strict

vigilance" which prevailed "for ensuring success in tne stages leading to the general good of the country."

5. Developments in Spanish Administrative Policy, Reforms, &c.

A Vizirial decree regulating the formation of political associations was issued on 7th March. It recalled and reaffirmed the existing legislation on the subject (the decrees of 1931 and 1943) and authorised the formation of political parties under their strict terms. The new Vizirial decree defined the permissible aim of any political association as "collaboration with Spain in its mission of assistance to the Moroccan Government in the introduction of reforms." It thereby made any opposition party illegal. Even the holding of private meetings is subject to the obtention of previous police permission.

The second five-year Plan of Public Works, Economy and Education for Spanish Morocco, the details of which were made public early in the year, provides for an expenditure of 260 million pesetas out of which 41½ million are earmarked for education, 69½ million for hydraulic works and 59 million for roads. The balance is assigned to agriculture, ports, medical services, housing, urbanisation and administrative building.

There were still no signs of the proposed reshuffle or extension of the Makhzen "Government" nor of any of the substantial administrative reforms referred to in the report for the September quarter 1951.

6. The Press

The Spanish press was more objective and less unfriendly to Britain during the quarter.

Señor Martin Artajo's survey of Spain's international policy in 1951, in which the Spanish Foreign Minister suggested that there could be no better mediator between the Western Powers and the Arab world than Spain, received wide publicity.

The Spanish censorship has been increasingly tolerant towards the distribution in the zone of the Moroccan Nationalist newspapers of Tangier and Rabat.

In an editorial, the Tetuan *Diario de Africa* made a *riposte* to an article in the Paris *Le Monde* which was considered to be damaging to good Franco-Spanish relations. It asserted that the problem of nationalism did not exist in the Spanish Zone and scorned any idea of Spanish Morocco wanting to "raise itself to the level of the French," which is "aflame with Nationalist problems." Spain's administration, it added, is "years ahead" of France's in Morocco.

7. High Commissioner

General Valiño again maintained close contact with the Government in Madrid by making frequent trips to the peninsula. He visited General Franco early in January and was present at the meetings which His Imperial Highness the Khalifa had with the Generalísimo referred to above.

In a New Year message to the press, the High Commission referred to "the fraternity between Spain and Morocco" and said that the two nations "which were united by the same ideal" had no difference whatsoever to divide them.

8. Capitulations, Treaty Rights, &c.

There is no fresh incident to report but the attitude of the Spanish Zone authorities towards British subjects of Indian race continued to be obstructive.

No more attacks on the treaty privileges enjoyed by Great Britain and the United States appeared in the local press.

The British postal agency in Tetuan functioned normally during the quarter. The figures for United Kingdom and other Commonwealth exports received in Spanish Morocco through the parcel post during 1951 were: £109,253 and 16,737 Canadian dollars.

9. Reactions to nearby and World Events

Although everything else tended to be overshadowed by the return of the Nationalist leaders and the interest aroused thereby, the Tunisian crisis has been closely watched by Moroccans and Spaniards alike. The sympathies of the former are entirely against the French.

10. Death of His Majesty King George VI

The death of His late Majesty King George VI was the occasion of an almost general demonstration of respect and a deep sympathy by people of all races, creeds and classes. His Highness the Khalifa and the Spanish High Commissioner at once sent representatives to the consulate-general to express condolence with the Royal Family and Her Majesty's Government. Hundreds of Moors, Spaniards and Jews (both official and private) thronged the consulate-general and the vice-consulates at Ceuta and Melilla to express sympathy with the British people in their bereavement. Warm tributes to His Majesty's life and character were published in the press and on the radio. All Spanish flags were moreover flown at half-mast for three days.

11. Miscellaneous

Following upon the departure of the long unpopular Chief of Economics, Commerce and Industry of the zone, a reorganisation of the department was carried out by order of the High Commissioner and Señor Alvarez Claro, former Mayor of Melilla, and a personal friend of General Valiño, was appointed Deputy Chief for Trade and Supplies. The latter has embarked upon a series of reforms aiming at a better distribution of the rationed food supplies and a less rigorous control of imports and exports within the peseta area.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mulay Mohammed, brother of His Highness the Khalifa and president of the Khalifian "Privy Council," was promoted colonel and given the rank of Amin Alay El Mehallat or Officer Commanding the Mehalla Regiment.

Tetuan, 16th May, 1952.

JM 1013/7 No. 11

POLITICAL REPORT APRIL–JUNE 1952

Mr. Consul-General Wikeley to Mr. Eden. (*Received 26th July*)

(No. 65. Confidential) *Tetuan,*
(Telegraphic) *23rd July, 1952.*

1. General

During the period under review the National Reform Party, whose members celebrated, on June 26, the sixteenth anniversary of its foundation, again displayed considerable activity.

The only noteworthy developments in the attitude of the Spanish authorities towards Nationalism were the permission granted to the Reform Party to publish a newspaper and the foundation, apparently under the auspices of the Spanish Department of Native Affairs, of a new party, the *Maghrib al Hor*, or *Free Morocco* whose newspaper of the same name appeared on 1st May for the first time.

The appointment of Señor García Figueras as Acting Chief of the Native Affairs Department is thought to have been unwelcome to the Nationalist leaders who saw in this move a step towards a stricter control of the Nationalist movement in the zone. There have, in fact, been signs that the honeymoon between the National Reform Party and the Spanish authorities is coming to an end. The zone, nevertheless, remained extremely quiet during the quarter.

2. Activities of Political Parties

Parties

(*a*) The *Hizb al Islah al Watani* (National Reform Party):

Si Abdul Khalik Torres, its leader, has been active in a number of ways and has started to take a slightly more critical and independent attitude. He has, for instance, been openly criticising what he considers to be the corrupt practices of the Makhzen and he has also inveighed against the judicial, executive and legislative system of the zone. He has been surprisingly vocal about the need for autonomy and has not even hesitated to proclaim that the majority of the population of Spanish Morocco are living in misery. An outspoken article criticising the Tetuan Town Council for being overwhelmingly Spanish in membership and language brought about the temporary suspension of the party's newspaper *Al Umma* in June.

Torres has also been canvassing the formation of trade unions under the party's leadership, but his most interesting statements were perhaps those made on the sixteenth anniversary of the foundation of the party when, dealing with the relations between France and Spain on the one hand and Morocco on the other, he made a bid for United States support for Moroccan Nationalist aspirations. On the same occasion he admitted to his audience that he was not satisfied with the attitude of the Spanish Government but he advised his followers to be moderate and to proceed "by steps." He deprecated the use of force even if this were available to the party, which is not the case.

Torres himself has been on a tour of the zone. He visited Alcazarquivir, Larache and Shawen while his lieutenants were present at the opening of the party's branch at Villa Nador, in the Rif, under Haj Omar Allal; the Administration have, however,

made it clear that while they are prepared to sanction a moderate amount of political activity in the towns, they will not countenance any tampering with the tribes.

The Executive Committee of the party, has been enlarged in order to make it more representative. It now consists of twenty-seven members and includes a former Cadi of Beni Ahmed whose properties were confiscated by the Spaniards because of his Nationalist sympathies.

(*b*) *The Maghrib al Hor* (Free Morocco):

This new party started its activities towards the end of April under the leadership of one Mohammad Zarich. It is known to have been sponsored by the Spanish authorities as a rival to the National Reformists. The new party has branches in the principal towns of the Western and Eastern regions of the zone. Its following is mainly recruited from young Moors who have studied in Egypt and are now employed by the Tetuan Native Affairs Department; its organ, the *Maghrib al Hor,* whose editor is Gali al Tod, (formerly a member of Torres' party) indulges occasionally in mild criticism of the Administration and proposes a number of reforms.

(*c*) Other Parties:

Nasiri's *Unity and Independence Party* has shown no activity in this zone but it is reported that its leader has obtained from the Spaniards permission to re-publish in Tetuan the newspaper *Wahdat al Maghribiya* of which he was the editor since 1937.

Hasan Wazani, the leader of the Democratic Party, in a statement to *Al Maarifa,* a Tetuan Arabic fortnightly, has reaffirmed the right of all the Nationalist Parties to open branches in Spanish Morocco; he has also attempted to belittle the importance of the changes in the attitude of the Spanish authorities towards the Nationalists and has urged on his compatriots "a more realistic attitude" based on the "fighting spirit of the Moroccan people within the country." Torres and his friends are said to have been upset by his statement which they thought was both untimely and unwise and which, it is generally considered, is a sign of the beginning of a split in the Nationalist *bloc.* Wazani was praised in the Tetuan bilingual *An Nahar* for his "frank and realistic views on the Moroccan problem in contrast with others who prefer to confuse the issues."

3. Communism

Nothing to report.

4. The Khalifa and the Spanish Administration

His Highness has maintained friendly relations with the Spanish High Commission in spite of rumours to the contrary. In a statement to the United Press correspondent in Tetuan, Mulay Hasan praised warmly General Garcia Veliño and his achievements in Morocco adding that "his relations with him were perfect." This was apparently meant to counter the effect of a report in the French press that there had been some friction over the question of the Khalifian troops sent to Tangier. Referring to the Hispano-Arab *rapprochement,* His Highness said that it should cause alarm to nobody since its aim was an alliance for the development of friendly relations and defence against communism.

5. Developments in Spanish Administrative Policy, Reforms, &c.

The Spanish authorities have apparently decided to adopt a more liberal attitude towards the Moroccan "political" prisoners some of whom have been held in jail since 1948. About half-a-dozen of them were set free on the occasion of the festivities ending the month of Ramadan and it is reliably reported that negotiations are proceeding for the liberation of the remaining sixteen.

Censorship on the Arabic press was lifted on the 20th April but a strict control is nevertheless maintained. Editors are, by law, "bound to co-operate with the Spanish administration and to avoid obstructive criticism."

In a *Dahir* dated 11th June and an ensuing decree issued by the High Commissioner, conditions were laid down for the grant of financial assistance to modest agriculturalists in the form of interest-free loans to be used for the fostering of their enterprises.

In the Kert territory the native population has been supplied monthly with twenty kilos of flour per person at a low price, pending the arrival of a consignment of barley. Bad harvests and the inclination of the local farmer to grow cotton (which is more remunerative) rather than corn made this necessary.

The second five-year plan, referred to in the preceding political report, is to be financed by a loan which will be launched in Spain and Spanish Morocco under the guarantee of the Spanish Treasury.

6. The Press

The salient topics in the local Spanish press were Spain's claims for the revision of the Tangier Statute, Señor Martin Artajo's tour of the Middle East, the Franco-American dispute over treaty rights in Morocco and Maréchal Juin's anti-American speech, (which was severely condemned). The British Labour Party was strongly criticised in the Tetuan *Diario de Africa* for their attitude in the matter of the Yalu bombing and also for their alleged opposition to the rearmament programme.

Spain's friendly relations with Pakistan were the subject of an editorial in the same newspaper. The editor of the Tetuan bilingual *An Nahar/ El Dia* was, on personal instructions from the High Commissioner, fined 5,000 pesetas for publishing a report put out by Karachi that Señor Nicolas Franco would be sent to Spanish Morocco to hand over the administration of the zone to the Moors and place all the armed forces in Spanish North Africa under General Mizzian.

7. High Commissioner

General Garcia-Valiño has now completed his first year as High Commissioner. In greeting him on this anniversary, the Tetuan newspaper *An Nahar* described him as "Morocco's best friend and a Mirror of Concord."

To mark the occasion, which was given much prominence in the local press and radio, the General held a press conference in which he referred, *inter alia,* to the question of the Nationalist Parties in Spanish Morocco. He said he brought the Moroccan politicians back from exile since, after four years, the situation was ripe for lifting the ban and for fostering cordial relations but he added that "at the moment everything is in evolution and reorganisation and plenty of time is needed to form a solid foundation for what I believe will have great importance." He reiterated his promise to give jobs in the Administration to qualified Moors but he said that since these were very few he would endeavour to increase the number of people so qualified.

General Valiño again paid several visits to the Peninsula and, as is usual on such occasions, rumours went round that he was about to relinquish his post in Tetuan. A more recent rumour has it that Señor Martin Artajo is earmarked as High Commissioner.

8. Capitulations, Treaty Rights, &c.

Early in May a British subject without citizenship was arrested and imprisoned in Tetuan for an alleged monetary offence, in violation of the capitulatory rights secured to British subjects resident in Spanish Morocco by the treaties in force. Early in April a fishing vessel registered in Gibraltar (but owned by a Spaniard) with an all-Spanish crew was arrested for fishing in zonal waters without permission. It was set free after a short time as a result of representations made by the Consulate-General.

9. Impact of World Events on Local Opinion

In addition to the topics mentioned in paragraph 6 above, Tunisia and the expected French reply to the Sultan's proposals about reforms have held public interest.

10. Miscellaneous

Brigadier Luis Zanon, who accompanied the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs in his visit to the Arab countries, has been appointed Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces in Spanish North Africa; he is reputed to be an expert in Moslem affairs.

The Jordan Minister in Spain, Isa Bey Bunduk, accompanied by the Jordan Consul at Madrid and the latter's wife, paid a five-day visit to this zone towards the end of June. The visitors had extensive contacts with the National Reform Party and were also entertained by His Imperial Highness the Khalifa.

Some progress is reported in the work on the Muluya Dam. The Tetuan Public Works Department has published a call for tenders for the metalling of the road leading to Meshera Kalila.

It has been decided to launch a loan of 130 million pesetas to finance the first instalment of the Spanish zone contribution to the Muluya Dam project.

A new Spanish-built 4,500-ton ferry-boat has been put into service for the Ceuta–Algeciras crossing. It can carry no less than 100 cars and 2,000 passengers.

The Portuguese Government have opened an Honorary Vice-Consulate at Ceuta.

Negotiations have been proceeding for the importation into Ceuta of 200,000 tons of Polish coal.

JM 1013/9 No. 12

POLITICAL REPORT, JULY–SEPTEMBER, 1952

Mr. Consul-General Wikeley to Mr. Eden (Received 18th October)

(No. 76) *Tetuan, 7th October, 1952.*

General

There is little to report. The zone has been quiet throughout the quarter. On the sixteenth anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish military revolution an amnesty was granted to all political prisoners.

Political Parties

2. The nationalists have shown little activity, indeed, they can almost be said to have become completely lethargic, perhaps because it has in any case been made clear to them that the Administration will not tolerate political activities outside the towns and this cuts much of the ground from under their feet. They have made no public protest about this.

3. The National Reform Party (*al Hizb al Islah al Watani*) has sent Mehdi Bennuna on a tour to the United States with the object, particularly, of establishing contact with Nationalist leaders outside Morocco and to add the party's weight to the movement for furthering the Nationalist cause with U.N.O. His efforts are unlikely to do much to further the cause as, the party being short of funds (as usual), his journey is said to have been paid for by the Istiqlal Party and, while in America, he is to be financed by the head of the "Moroccan Office" in New York.

4. Abdul Khaliq Torres, has done little in recent months beyond occupying himself with the affairs of the "Free Institute" in Tetuan which he founded years ago. He went to Tangier on the 8th September and is not expected to return to Tetuan before the end of October.

5. The party's newspaper *Al Umma* suspended publication in August and has not since reappeared No doubt this is the result of financial difficulties but it is stated by some that the decision was made as a protest against the attitude of the Administration in the matter of political activity outside the towns (see paragraph 2 above).

6. The "Free Morocco Party" (Al Maghreb al Horr), which is Spanish-sponsored, also seems to have fallen on evil days. It has done nothing except some criticism of the Reform Party and it, also, is reported to be in serious financial difficulties. The executive committee have been evicted from their offices for failing to pay the rent; it is stated, however, that the authorities have since provided a little financial help.

7. Nasiri's "Unity and Independence Party" (*Al Wahda wal Istiqlal*) has been engaged in a quarrel with the Telemsemani brothers for control of the Mulay el Mehdi Institute in Tetuan. The Telemsemanis have won with the support of the Spaniards (it is stated). The Khalifa's reported support of Nasiri seems to have been unavailing.

8. On the 27th August Hassan Wazzani crossed the Spanish Zone on his way to Egypt and the United States. He alone of the Nationalist leaders seems to have been gaining ground in the public opinion of this zone as the result of his contact with Abdul Krim in Cairo, his fight to secure a constitution for Morocco and his efforts to induce the Arab League to take up the question of Moroccan independence with U.N.O. His activity seems to be meeting with little approval from other leaders.

Communism

9. There is nothing to report.

The Khalifa

10. The Khalifa's relations with the Spaniards continue to be completely friendly. On the 12th September he left for a fortnight's "holiday" in Spain with his wife and elder brother. He was received by the Caudillo in Madrid and, generally, much fuss seems to have been made of him. His visit has been used as a peg on which the press and wireless have hung a number of articles about Spanish-Moroccan friendship and so on and he has clearly played the rôle he was expected to play. His wife's gift of a lorry full of flowers to the *Virgen de la Merced* at Barcelona has caused much unfavourable comment amongst Moslems in Tetuan.

Spanish Administration, &c.

11. On the 18th July a Dahir was published granting a total amnesty to all persons "detained administratively" in the prisons of the zone. The amnesty also extends to all criminals serving terms of less than two years, and other prisoners saw their sentences reduced. The Reform Party's *Al Umma* congratulated the Khalifa and the Spanish Administration on this measure of clemency which, it insinuated, was the result of the party's efforts.

12. An important decree was issued by the High Commissioner on the 5th July which unifies and revises a number of earlier measures dealing with trade and commerce. Details are reported in Tetuan despatch No. 68 E. of the 1st August.

13. All food rationing was abolished on 1st July and some prices have risen in consequence.

14. The High Commissioner made a tour of the Riff in September.

The Press

15. The local Spanish press devoted much space to the zone's five-year plan, the High Commissioner's tours, the Khalifa's visit to Spain and the visit of a number of Moslem pilgrims to Mecca.

16. The National Reform Party's *Al Umma* suspended publication on the 1st August (see paragraph 6 above).

17. The Rabat *Al Alam* of the 24th September was banned for sale in this zone because of an article appearing therein stating that the Khalifa, during his visit to Spain, would discuss with General Franco questions of interest to Spanish Morocco "where no improvements have yet been noticed." The Casablanca weekly *Ar Ray al Am* of September 11 was suppressed by the police for, it is stated, an article criticising Spanish methods in colonial territories.

World Affairs

18. The question of the Tangier Statute, the Franco-American case at The Hague and developments in the French Zone and Tunis have been watched with interest. King Farouk's abdication caused general satisfaction in Moorish circles and General Neguib has had a good press. The investigations into the financial position of certain Egyptian politicians gave the local Maghreb al Horr a chance to express the hope that the Egyptian example will be followed in Morocco some day.

Miscellaneous

19. On the 11th August some 380 Moslems embarked at Ceuta on a Spanish ship specially chartered by the Administration to take them to Saudi Arabia on pilgrimage. The High Commissioner and Administration were greatly applauded in the press for providing this means of enabling Moslems from this zone to make the pilgrimage.

20. Franco-Spanish co-operation in regard to the irrigation project on the lower Muluya river is stated to be proceeding amicably.

21. "Gibraltar Day," the 4th August, passed off without any incident of any kind either in the zone or in the Spanish sovereign territories of Ceuta and Melilla.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/1 No. 13

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN SPANISH MOROCCO

Consul-General Hope-Gill to Mr. Eden. (Received 7th April)

(No. 31. Confidential) *Tetuan,*
Sir, *15th March*, 1952.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a list and the main biographical details of the leading personalities of Spanish Morocco. The Moors, as sons of the country, where they will probably make their mark and spend their lives, have been fairly fully described: the Spaniards, as administrators liable to change rapidly, here to-day and perhaps gone to-morrow, less fully.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid and Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier and Rabat, also to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
C. G. HOPE-GILL.

Enclosure in No. 13

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3. Mulai Ahmad
8. Mulai 'Arafa
1. Mulai al Hasan
6. Mulai Ismail
4. Mulai al Mahdi
2. Mulai Mohammad
5. Qaddawi
15. Raisuni Bil Mekki
16. Raisuni, bil Mekki
22. Raisuni Mulai Mohammad
36. Skirej
28. Torres
7. Um Kultum

Spaniards

101. Achutegui
102. Alvarez Claro
103. Aracama Gorosabel
104. Aragoncillo Sevilla
105. Arderius
106. Areces Matilla
107. Ayuso Romero de Paz
108. Baena Rodriguez
109. Bellod
110. Benmaman
111. Bertuchi
112. Bustinduy
113. Carvajal Arrieta
114. Casquero Medina
115. Castellano de Mateo
116. Cayuela
117. Cordoba Samaniego
118. Cuesta Monereo
119. Diaz de Tuesta
120. Dominguez Fernandez
121. Gallego Suarez Somonte
122. Gamir Rupert
123. Garcia Cuencas
124. Garcia-Sañudo
125. Gomez Arroyo
125A. Gonzalez del Agus
126. Gonzalez Pons
127. Herrero Muñoz
128. Jauregui y Gil Delgado
129. Larrea Rodriguez
130. Limia Perez
131. Llord O'Lawlor
132. Lopez Lopez
133. Manso
134. Martinez Gomez
135. Martorell Otzet
136. Martinez Mateo
137. Perez Polo
138. Rivas Gonzalez
139. Salazar
140. Santamaria Quesada
141. Suarez Alvarez
142. Torres Martinez
143. Trigueros Peñalver
144. Valencia
145. Valiño Garcia-
146. Vela Blasco
147. Villarejo de los Campos
148. Zabal

Palace

1. Shereef Mulai al Hasan ben Mulai al Mahdi ben Mulai Ismail

Sultan's *Khalifa* or Caliph.

Born 1909 of a negress slave or concubine, but of direct Shereefian, *i.e.*, Mohammedan, descent from the Prophet's daughter and grandson of a former Sultan of Morocco. Is the second son of the first Spanish-zone *Khalifa*, who died in 1923. Was selected by the Spanish Government as the best of a poor lot to succeed his father, appointed by the reigning Sultan, Sidi Mohammad V, who is his younger, second cousin, and installed as *Khalifa*, 11th November, 1925. Has three sons (*q.v.*), born of concubines. Married 1949, Princess Lalla Fatma, daughter of former Sultan Mulai "Abdul" Aziz, by whom he has a daughter (*q.v.*). Celebrated silver jubilee, 1950. Swarthy. Stands about 5 ft. 10 ins., weighs about 16 stone.

Mulai Hasan was brought up to be a puppet ruler, was taught so little as to lack the elements of education and has grown up apart from and ignorant of his fellow men. Were he not a *Shereef* he would be almost completely disregarded as a *Khalifa*. The only political respect and following on which he can count are those of his palace and entourage. He also lacks honest and independent advisers. As a Spanish tool, however, he is generally obedient, shows no initiative and has expensive tastes which have to be satisfied because, like the Sultan, he can if he wishes withhold his signature from decrees.

2. Shereef Mulai Mohammad ben al Mahdi

Khalifa's elder brother.

Known as *El Gordo*, "Fat One." Married to a Spaniard. Born about 1907 of a slave or concubine. Head of his brother's so-called Privy Council, which hardly ever meets and was created in 1948 by the last High Commissioner as a check to the National Reform Party. Is also honorary colonel of the Khalifian *Mehalla* or Guard, whose uniform he invariably wears. Swarthy. Very short and fat, but powerful.

Mulai Mohammad is debited by his co-religionists with disgraceful morals and is not only a *bon viveur* but a black marketeer in the full sense of both titles. Scandals as well as tales of physical prowess surround him. He is a favoured recipient of Spanish *douceurs* in the form of import permits, which he sells, and of virtual immunity from frontier customs search. With his brother the *Khalifa*, Raisuli of Laraiche (*q.v.*) and the few other Hispanophil Moors, he is making a lot of hay while the sun shines.

3. Shereef Mulai Ahmad ben al Mahdi

Khalifa's younger brother.

Born about 1915 of a concubine. Little seen, of no political importance and known chiefly for his lechery, to satisfy which he sometimes goes to publicly culpable lengths.

4. Shereef Mulai al Mahdi ben al Hasan

Khalifa's eldest son.

Born about 1929 of a concubine. Educated from 1937 until 1941 in Egypt, then in Spain, where in 1951 he graduated in law at Madrid University. The most educated and presentable member of the Khalifian family, but to the point of knowing more Spanish than Arabic and having Spanish friends, many of them female, in preference to Moorish. Is coming to be regarded as "heir apparent" and seems so obsessed with this idea that his manners are now rude and arrogant. Lacks culture but not wealth, being always well provided and brought up, like his father, luxuriously. Is classed by his former associates as stupid and lazy. Knows a little English.

5. Shereef Mulai Mohammad ben al Hasan

Khalifa's second son.

Born about 1931, of a concubine. A minor of no distinctive personality as yet.

6. Shereef Mulai Ismail ben al Hasan

Khalifa's third son. Born about 1934.

7. Princess Lalla Fatma and Princess Um Kultum

Khalifa's wife and daughter.

The former was born about 1921, in Tangier, to the former Sultan Mulai "Abdul" Aziz in his retirement there. She is the *Khalifa's* first and so far only wife and was brought up in Tangier completely emancipated from the normal bonds of Islam on women. She speaks both English and French well and already finds the hareem life at Tetuan, where she has a Spanish duenna, too close.

She still has property, however, in Tangier and is now building herself a house there.

Married on 5th June, 1949, to the *Khalifa* at a reputed expenditure by the Spanish and Moroccan exchequers of some £100,000 on the pomp and circumstance, she gave birth to a daughter on 24th March, 1950.

8. Shereef Mulai 'Arafa

Khalifa's brother-in-law.

Born about 1920. Married the *Khalifa's* sister in 1948. Lives in a one-million-peseta villa given to his wife as a wedding present by Generalissimo Franco. A lugubrious type who otherwise has no title to consideration beyond his Shereefian descent, which earns Moslem respect for even the least worthy of it.

9. Si Abdul Wahid Abrisha

Khalifa's Hajib or "Eyebrow," *i.e.*, Chamberlain.

Born about 1902, of good family, and brought up in the house of the late Si Abdul Qader Erzini, the leading British-protected Moor in the zone (*q.v.*). Was made *Hajib* in 1932. Lacks any real education, but is a gentleman, well-liked and suited to his almost purely social duties of organising the entertaining. He has the reputation of not receiving the usual *douceurs* from the Spanish Administration in the form of gratis import licences, but is nevertheless believed to have accepted some. Leads a very quiet and circumspect private life. Is more friendly than most Spanish-paid Moors *vis-à-vis* the Consulate-General and less afraid to show it.

10. Si Mohammed Luali ben Dris Ben Yaish

Khalifa's Qaid al Meshwar or Master of Ceremonies.

Born about 1896, a native of Laraiche, of a family that has long served in Sultanic Households. His two brothers also serve the *Khalifa*. Quite uneducated, but has picked up fluent Spanish and a Spanish wife. Is nevertheless bringing up his children as strict Moslems. Has a kindly nature which makes him popular, a rarity among Masters of the Audience Chamber. Not much in Spanish favour, however, probably because he once supported the *Frente Popular*, yet well protected by the *Khalifa* with whom he shares many of his pickings, business and other.

11. Si Ahmed Ben Al Bashir al Haskuri

Khalifa's Rais ad-Diwan or Comptroller of the Household.

Born about 1909, of a negress connected with the *Khalifa's* mother, who brought him up with the *Khalifa* after his mother's death. Dismissed from the household for some scandal, he lived in penury until given a job in the *Basha's* office in 1933. Later rose to his present eminence, which he uses to amass wealth that he shares with his master. Has no education and only a vernacular knowledge of Arabic.

Of evil moral reputation, he is also disliked and distrusted by his compatriots outside the Palace. Is a Spanish tool and accepts "political" import licences. Was recently also considered by the hard-headed Glawi, Pasha of Marrakesh, worth bribing with the gift of a £5,000 Rolls Royce.

Makhzan

12. Si Ahmad ben Abdul Karim Al Haddad

Grand *Vizir*.

Born about 1893, of a middle class family, and began his ascent as tutor to the *Khalifa*. Of a mediocre education and culture, except in religious matters. Has no presence, no character and little intelligence, but is modest and courteous, as well as superficial in his dealings. Was clerk in the Grand *Vizir's* office under ben 'Azuz and, when the latter's successor Ahmad al Ganmia, died in 1943, was placed in charge of the Grand Vizirate, itself a small, impotent office, maintained by the Protecting Power like the rest of the native Government or *Makhzan, pour la forme*. He was made Grand *Vizir* in 1950. Accepts "political" import licences which he sells through his brother-in-law and sons.

Of the three occupants of this position, none has proved more subservient to the Spanish will. He has never been known to take a stand on anything and has more than once given way to the High Commission before the *Khalifa* was ready to do so. Is content to have no power and little responsibility and is the more disliked by his compatriots for his repeated failure to protect them and their freedoms against the Spanish political police.

The Spanish administration have built him a fine house, furnished it extravagantly and kept him provided with the latest motor cars *de luxe*.

13. Si Mohammad ben Tuhami Afailal

Vizir for Islamic Justice.

Born about 1881, a native of Tetuan and son of one of the leading families. Formed at the *Qaraween* University at Fez, he is completely lacking in any modern education or culture. Succeeded Al Faqih Ahmad Arhoni as Minister in 1933. Although Islamic Justice was declared independent of Spanish control by General Beigbeder in 1937, under Afailal it has become almost a subordinate branch of the Spanish Department of Native Affairs under General Larrea.

Afailal's official conduct is considered exemplary, in that he is not one of the majority who accept bribes. He is comfortably off nevertheless and looks his part as a patriarchal relic of a more aristocratic age of government.

14. Si Mohammed ben Abdul Qader Ben Musa

Vizir for *Habus* or Pious Foundations.

Born about 1873, a native of Marrakesh, but lived long in Laraiche. Religiously educated and has no modern veneer. Is a close friend of the *Khalifa*, through whom he rose from obscurity to be *Vizir* in 1937, succeeding the Nationalist leader Si Abdul Khaliq Torres, who had resigned in protest against the systematic Spanish intervention which has impoverished this once wealthy source of succour for the poor.

Ben Musa is one of the leading poets of his place and day and a subtle writer of the old school. Of a mottled, mousey appearance he also is reputed to have done himself well, speculating with the capital of the innumerable religious legacies which have been made by the pious for all sorts of beneficent objects in addition to the feeding of the needy.

15. Si Mohammad ben Omar Qaddawi

Vizir for Agriculture and Production.

Born about 1891 in the Rif, where he grew up virtually unschooled except in the repetitive reading of the Koran and then passed on this smattering of the first two R's to others in the Koranic schools of the rural Rif. When the mountains were occupied by Spain he sided with the Spaniards and was rewarded with the *Qaid*ship of several tribes consecutively and, when General Varela introduced his *Makhzan* "reforms" in 1948, was selected as about the only presentable Rifi to put at the head of the so-called Ministry of Agriculture and Production. This is a completely hollow creation about which Qaddawi neither knows nor does anything except draw his salary, to which he adds the proceeds of the sales of the political import licences with which he is favoured by his political employers, all real control of his office being exercised by the Spanish Department of Economy and Industry.

Although once believed to have Nationalist sympathies, Qaddawi is now a good example of the characterless political parasite that clings tight and says nuffin'.

16. Si Mohammad Bil Mekki Raisuni

Vizir for Finance and Crown Lands.

Born about 1880, a native of Tetuan and son of a distinguished and well-loved branch of the famous (when not infamous) Raisuni family. Although he lacks education and culture, he is pleasant in his dealings and plainly modest, qualities which, with his proved honesty, have won him popular esteem. Was named director of *Makhzan* properties, equivalent to our Crown Lands, by the *Khalifa's* father in 1922 and promoted *Vizir* when General Varela "reformed" the *Makhzan* in 1948. Although quite incapable of altering the state of inertia in which his "Ministry" exists, he has made his office at least decorative and decent.

Bil Mekki Raisuni also controls the large assets and revenues of the historic Raisuni *Zawia* or Pilgrims' Guest/Rest House at Tazerut in the Beni Aros mountains, where his blood-thirsty and notorious relative the brigand Shereef once lived and held his prisoners, like Mr. Walter B. Harris, to ransom; and by way of contrast Bil Mekki is a model of honour and rectitude. His only son is studying in Madrid.

17. Haj Dris Bennani

Ameen al Umana or Intendant of Customs.

Born in Fez about 1887 of a poor but distinguished family. Received a rudimentary education at the *Qaraween* University and has served all his adult life in Customs, except for a brief spell in 1934 as Basha of Arzila. Speaks no foreign language and writes Arabic with difficulty but has always obeyed Spanish orders and is thereby enabled to live in comfort and idleness.

18. Al Faqih Mohammad Al Morir

Rais al Isteenaf Shra'i or President of the Islamic Court of Appeal.

Born about 1885, a native of Tetuan and son of a leading family. Studied Islamic law and religion at the *Qaraween* University, Fez, and became first an *'Adil* or judicial notary and then, when Spanish administration began, a clerk. Rose to be *Qadhi* or Judge of Tetuan during the Rif War and was made Appeal Court President in 1934.

A man of lively intelligence and, through study, of surprisingly many-sided culture, owner also of one of the best Arabic libraries in all Morocco, Al Morir is a difficult man and has an excessive pride which deprives him of popular sympathy. Although as

submissive as the rest of the *Makhzan* to Spanish wishes, he has not accepted any of the High Commission's import licences and lives as he always has, modestly.

19. Mohammad ben Baraka al 'Arosi

Rais al Isteenaf Makhzani or President of the Administrative Court of Appeal.

Born in the Beni 'Aros tribeland about 1905. Learnt a little of the Koran as a child and a little Spanish as a youth frequenting the Spanish Control, which gave him the position of "interpreter." When Major Trujillo was removed from that Control and put in charge of the *Makhzan* Income Department in Tetuan, Baraka followed and took such good advantage of his position that he is to-day believed to be a (peseta) multi-millionaire, using *Makhzan* money to buy land and sell it to the *Makhzan* for personal profit at prices officially fixed by himself. He has invested his wealth largely in land in Tangier. He is bound to the *Khalifa* by close ties of friendship and common interest but distrusted by the *Khalifa's* Comptroller, who sees in him a rival.

Baraka is illiterate in Arabic as well as in Spanish and holds his sinecure without any due qualifications. He has four wives and many children, none of whom can he control.

20. Ai Yazid ben Tayyib Ben Salah

Basha or Governor of Tetuan.

Born about 1892 in Beni Erzini of a leading Ghomari family. Studied at the *Qaraween* University of Fez. After serving under Abdul Karim and helping him to force the disorderly 1921 Spanish retreat to Sheshawen, he was bribed by the Spaniards to rise against the Rifian leader and eventually rewarded, first with the *Qaid*ship of the tribes and in 1932 with the *Basha*ship of Sheshawen. He was promoted to that of the capital in 1951.

Beni Salah is the best-read and most cultivated of the zone's tribal leaders. His well-filled library is said to contain unpublished Andalusian manuscripts of considerable value. His business acumen is also great and he enriches himself with the rationing system and by controlling small businesses to his own profit.

21. Si Mohammad ben Mohammad Ben Abud

Almuhtasib ("Accountant") or President of the Tetuan Municipal Council.

Born in Mazagan about 1900. Attended only a Koranic school and speaks only bad Spanish. Was a textile shopkeeper until selected by his friend the former *Basha* for this his first public position, which he has now occupied for six years. During that time almost all his responsibilities and duties have passed into Spanish hands. He is now merely nominally a President.

Spends much of his time away in Spain "representing" Morocco at the Valencia and Barcelona International Fairs and so on.

22. Mulai Mohammad Khalid ben Ahmad Raisuni

Basha or Governor of Laraiche.

Born about 1901, son of the notorious bandit-Shereef Raisuli or Raisuni, from whom he inherits lust for power and a ruthless cruelty. Is the best educated and the most absolute of the Hispanophil Moorish governors. Made *Basha* of Laraiche in 1934. Was a poor man at the time, living in a house whose low rent was paid by the Spanish administration, but in 17 years he has amassed enormous wealth, including houses, land and cattle, partly by confiscation, imprisonments and floggings, on occasions to death: *i.e.*, by uncontrolled abuse of power. Also by trade monopolies and import and export permits of all kinds from his colleagues in the Spanish administration, including rationed articles which he sells in the black market: *i.e.*, by corruption. Is part-owner amongst other things of the Tangier bull-ring.

Raisuni is one of the most useful Spanish tools in the zone by reason of his name and reputation, which cow even the boldest Nationalists in his district. In 1947, "in the name of the great Moorish majority that supports the Spanish High Commission," he threatened his opponents with bloodshed. He consorts, and is said to be married, with a Spanish officer's widow who is, however, not "received." Nor is he himself received by either the Sultan or the *Khalifa*. Raisuni is a prime example of the unprincipled use by Spain of an already corrupt native whom she has further corrupted with absolute power and unlimited wealth for her own ends, regardless of the damage caused and the hatred engendered among her *protégés*.

23. Ahmad ben Mohammad ben Allal Meslohi

Basha or Governor of Sheshawen.

Born in the Ghomara about 1895. Succeeded his father, under appointment from the then rebel Raisuni, as *Qaid* of the Telata of Beni Ahmad. Joined the Spaniards soon after his territory was overrun by the Rifs in 1925 and was re-named *Qaid* after Abdul Karim's defeat. Forcibly recruited Moorish tribesmen for Franco's crusade and in 1941 was awarded the campaign medal with special "Vanguard" insignia. Introduced in his tribeland in 1946 a repressive and lucrative system of forcible land purchase which drove numbers of tribesmen to the capital, but their grievances went unredressed.

A thoroughly unpopular governor but one well supported by the Spanish administration.

24. Ai Mohammad Mellali

Basha or Governor of Alcazar.

Born in the Kholot about 1882. Entered Sultan Mulai Hafidh's when young and Spanish service in 1911. Is quite uneducated and very autocratic. A friend of the *Khalifa's*, to whom he periodically gives valuable presents, being immensely wealthy as the virtually uncontrolled administrator of a populous city and rich agricultural area. With his neighbouring *Basha* at Laraiche he is classed by the Moors as the most despotic and impoverishing instrument that the Spaniards have set up in their zone. When he dies, the saying goes, they will hardly find another of his ilk.

Moorish Notables

25. Si Abdus Salam Erzini

Born about 1884, of a leading and highly respected Tetuan family with distant origins in the Ghomara mountain tribe of Beni Erzin. The family was, until the Spanish entry in 1913, foremost in helping the Royal Navy when its autumn manoeuvres regularly used to bring considerable numbers of ships to anchor in Tetuan bay, requiring water and victualling and sometimes having to put to sea at short notice and leave officers and men stranded ashore. For his long and hospitable treatment and care of these and for other services to His Majesty's Government, Si Abdus Salam's father, Si Abdul Qader, was made the sole, political, British-protected Moor in Spanish Morocco under the capitulations. His son maintains the close family connexion with the British Consulate-General, acting as its Honorary Moorish Secretary, a post which entitles him to British protection and which he flatly declined to renounce when he was offered the Grand Vizirship of the zone by four different Spanish High Commissioners ending with Colonel Beigbeder in 1937. He loves the countryside, used to spend much of his time riding and shooting and is still a fine shot, but he now confines his

activities to looking after the family estates, which are considerable and require constant safeguarding from Spanish thefts and encroachment.

A man of great physical and moral weight and of unblemished character, enjoying universal respect, Si AbdusSalam represents an age and type that are fast disappearing under the corrupting influence of the west. He knows some Spanish. Is unmarried.

26. Haj Mohammed Erzini

Born about 1895, only brother of Si AbdusSalam. An even larger man and equally white-skinned, he is his city counterpart, a sociable clubman with fair Spanish and a good knowledge of what is going on. He is almost as equally highly esteemed as his brother, to whom, however, as head of the family he has to play second fiddle. With their only sister Qultum and his son AbdulQader, who is studying in Edinburgh, he represents the survival-potential of the Erzini family.

27. Si Mohammad Daoud

Born about 1901. Studied at the *Qaraween* University of Fez, where he completed learning the Koran by heart. Early showed Nationalist leanings and in 1925 helped found the first modern free school in Morocco. In 1923 he founded the periodical *As-Salam, The Peace*, and shortly afterwards the purely Moorish printing company, " *Al Mahdiya* ". In 1934 he prepared the first Moroccan calendar, which was prohibited under the Spanish Republican régime. Has visited all the Arab countries of the Middle East and met many leading men but has never actually joined a political party.

Was given the directorship of Moorish education in 1942 but made no mark except in leaving it when, in 1947, he issued a manifesto, exposing the Spanish administration's conduct of native education. This was published by the National Reform Party, the leader of which had been his pupil. Is now working on a history of Tetuan.

28. Si AbdulKhaliq Torres

Born in 1905 of a leading Andalusian–Arab family and grandson of one of the Sultan's best known Ministers for Foreign Affairs, who represented Morocco at the Algeciras Conference. Learned the Koran when young and studied theology and Arabic at the Fez *Qaraween* University, and later the history and legislation of Morocco, which he is said to have mastered. Speaks excellent Spanish and learnt French during a two-year stay in Paris. In 1932, toured Europe, including England. On his return, founded the Moroccan Students' Association and has ever since been closely identified with the cause of Moorish education. Founded the Free Institute in 1935, the first secondary school in Morocco.

Founded the National Reform Party in 1936 and has been its leader ever since. In 1937 represented Morocco at the Pan-Islamic Conference in Cairo, where his speech made a considerable impression. After an outspoken speech in Tetuan in 1946 criticising General Varela's native policy and a special audience of the Sultan in Tangier, Torres again went to Cairo where he saw much of AbdulKarim al Khatabi. As a result, his return to Tetuan was forbidden and a small riot followed, but he had to remain in exile in Tangier until invited to return in 1952 by General Valiño on certain terms.

Torres is able but venal and ambitious. He (with the *Khalifa*) lent a too-ready ear during the war to German " offers " to give him political power in Morocco. He commands a Nationalist following that is and will be loyal as long as it is convinced that he is not playing chiefly for his own hand. This he will have difficulty in doing. He is nevertheless by head and shoulders the chief north Moroccan leader and a political force to be reckoned with.

29. Si M'hammad Ash-Ash

Born about 1907. Uneducated, but picked up enough Spanish to become an interpreter to a local Spanish Controller and then become friendly with the zone's secretary-general, Colonel Capaz, who in 1935 gave him charge of the administration of the *Habus* or Pious Foundations. He so used his opportunities of handling the funds to enrich himself that a scandal ensued and he had to resign, but he is now one of the wealthiest Moors of the zone. Unlike many other successful, Spanish-favoured natives, however, he restricts his activities to business and is therefore not unduly unpopular.

30. Si Mohammad Bulaish Baeza

Born about 1907. Became active in the meat trade, somehow lifted himself out of the ruck and is now one of the zone's millionaires. Holds a lawyer's diploma given in Madrid in 1944 under shady circumstances. Owns and directs the bi-lingual, bi-weekly *El Dia/An-Nahar* and the leading Tetuan hotel and has a hand in most local big business. Though a Moor, he knows next to no Arabic and has very little Spanish, but he trims well and has powerful friends on all sides, helping even the former High Commissioner, General Beigbeder, and the Nationalist cause financially. Tries, however, to keep everything in his own head and hands and is now heading for apoplexy.

31. Si Mohammad Benabud

Born about 1910, eldest son of the late British-protected person, Si Hamed ben Abud. Unlike his brother, No. 35, has never left Morocco and unlike his father is not pro-British. Has tied himself to the Spanish commercial band-waggon and is collecting wealth by doubtful means. Likely to become politically prominent but to remain unfriendly; while his younger brothers, of whom he has three surviving, will be the opposite.

Intelligensia

32. Si Tayib ben Haj AbdusSalam Benuna

Born about 1909 of a large and respected Tetuan family. After elementary Koranic studies, was sent by his father to " An-Nayah " school at Nablus in Palestine and thence to the American College of Engineering at Istanbul, but on his father's death in 1934, as the eldest son he had to leave his studies incompleted.

For long served as an unpaid teacher in the Free Institute and on the death of the first secretary-general of the National Reform Party, succeeded him and has devoted his time and talents, which are above the average, to the Nationalist cause, plus a little business. In 1937 he accompanied Torres (*q.v.*) to Cairo, but not in 1947, remaining behind to lead the party and prepare a triumphant reception on his leader's return. Suffered with him, as a result, exile in Tangier, from which he returned only in 1952. While in Tangier, visited the French zone and was instrumental in securing agreement between the Istiqlal and his party.

Knows a little English and is pro-British and democratic in sentiment. Is also reputed honest and though an ardent Nationalist, is no fanatic. He may well figure prominently in Morocco's future political development. Friendly.

33. Si Mehdi ben Haj AbdusSalam Benuna

Born about 1916, second brother of six of the above. An intelligent youngster, he was sent by his father to study in Palestine when barely ten, and he successfully passed all his examinations but took up no profession. Returned to Tetuan but went off again, to Egypt, where he became the editor of a

leading Cairo newspaper *Az-Zaman*. On his return home went into business but preferred politics and was sent in 1947 by the National Reform Party to New York to establish contact with United States public opinion on the Moroccan problem. He lectured widely and wrote articles, became known to the United Nations Organisation and was even received by General Marshall's assistant. Returned to Tangier shortly before Torres (*q.v.*) and with him was forbidden re-entry to the Spanish zone and lived an exile's life until able to return, under the Valiño régime, in 1952. Was able to make good money, however, with the North American Construction Co., in French Morocco until forced by the French to leave.

Speaks English well and French and Spanish as well as excellent Arabic and is in close touch with foreign journalists in Tangier. A pleasant, reputedly honest young man who is everywhere well liked and respected and should go far politically, if his health holds. Friendly.

34. Si Mohammad ben Haj AbdusSalam El Fasi

Born about 1914. Learned the Koran by heart. Educated first at the Tetuan " Ahliya " School, and then at the Nablus " An-Nayah " School in Palestine and finally at Robert College, Istanbul, where he studied engineering and completed his studies with a good record.

On his return to Morocco he was employed for a short time only by the Public Works Department as overseer but forced out by his Spanish competitors. Succeeded Torres (*q.v.*) as director of the Free Institute, teaching mathematics, chemistry and physics. In 1946 was sent by the *Khalifa* to Cairo as a member of a Cultural Commission and there spoke so openly against the Spanish zone régime that he was forbidden re-entry. Lived in Tangier, working chiefly for the National Reform Party of which he is an active and leading member, but his American college degree later earned him well-paid employment with the American Construction Co., there and in the French zone. Was forced out by the French in 1952 and is back in Tangier, but can now visit Tetuan.

Speaks very good English with an American accent, as well as Spanish. Is a dynamic, modern young man. Friendly.

35. Si Ahmad Benabud

Born about 1915, third son of the late British-protected person, Si Hamed ben Abud, a brother of No. 31. Studied for three years at the Tetuan Free Institute and was sent by his father in 1931 to the Nablus " An-Niyah " School in Palestine, where he matriculated. Went on, still at his father's expense, to study medicine in Cairo, where he qualified and, in 1951, completed his training with two years practice at the Kasr El Aini Hospital. Is now at the Cincinnatti Hospital, United States, for a two-years' post-graduate course and intends then to return to his own country to practice.

Speaks very good English and is a thoroughly likeable young man. A credit to Morocco, which has less than a dozen qualified Moorish doctors in forty years of Franco-Spanish tutelage. Friendly. No relation of No. 21.

36. Si Mohammad Skirej

Born about 1914. Educated locally, then entered the Faculty of Medicine at Granada University, where he qualified, visiting Egypt meanwhile. On his return to Morocco, however, was given by the administration only a hospital orderly's job out in the country, which he worked at for a mere pittance for three years. Returned to Tetuan and set up in private practice. Specialises in skin diseases after a post-graduate course at Seville. Fairly well-regarded.

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37. Si Ahmed Ben'Omar

Born about 1915. Studied in Melilla, whence he went as a scholarship student to Madrid, where he obtained a medical degree in 1940. On his return to Morocco as a fully qualified doctor he had the same experience as Skirej (*q.v.*) with whom he now shares consulting rooms. These two and No. 35 are the only three qualified Moorish doctors in Spanish Morocco. Specialises in consumptive diseases and is highly regarded. Friendly.

38. Si AbdusSalam Benani

Born about 1921. Educated at the Tetuan Free Institute, whence he went to Egypt in 1938 to study law. Returned qualified, but was not allowed to practice because of Spanish lawyers' opposition on the grounds that his diploma was neither Spanish nor of a country signatory to the Act of Algeciras. Now practising in Tangier but handicapped by lack of foreign languages.

39. Si Dris Benuna

Born about 1925. Brother of Nos. 32 and 33. Educated at the Tetuan Free Institute and went to Madrid with a scholarship to study in the Catholic Institute of Arts and Industries, reputedly the best engineering course in Spain. Finished brilliantly in 1948 but on his return to Morocco was palmed off with the small Elementary Technical Institute. Is trying to get abroad for further experience, preferably England. Knows some English. Intelligent and friendly.

40. Si Mohammad el Khatib

Born about 1915. Educated at the Tetuan Free Institute and went with a scholarship to Egypt where he entered the Cairo school of Applied Engineering. On his return was taken up by the Department of Education and Culture and put in charge of the Physics and Mathematics classes at the Moroccan Institute of Secondary Education. Is also on the Board of Examiners. With Nos. 34 and 39 is the only other Moorish engineer and with them and Nos. 35, 36 and 37 (doctors) and No. 38 (lawyer) the only other professional man qualified in the forty years of Spain's protection of north Morocco.

Spaniards

101. Achutegui, Agustin

Is at present director of the Moroccan State Bank and head of the Finance Department. His first official post was that of head of the Department of Economy, where he replaced Tomás García Figueras (*q.v.*) against his own wishes at the request of the late General Varela.

Is intelligent, socially correct, friendly in his dealings and does not make hasty decisions. He lives quietly with his wife and two children. Is a staunch Catholic.

102. Alvarez Claro, Rafael

Born in Malaga about sixty years ago. Was foreman in the docks. Later set up an insurance and shipping agency in Melilla and laid the foundations of his fortune as an army contractor during the Rif War. He subsequently rendered similar valuable services to the Franco Party during the uprising. He suffered many ups and downs, but was finally elected Mayor of Melilla in 1940.

As mayor he is reliably reputed to have used his position to foster his own private interests. He also embarked on a lavish programme of civic building and reform, much of which has been criticised as wasteful.

He has a forceful personality and has quickly stifled opposition. Is said to be unscrupulous.

He was appointed Deputy Controller of Trade and Economics in Tetuan in 1952 and immediately began to " put the house in order ". It is popularly believed, however, that his policy is to restrict malpractices profitable to others while continuing to take his own " rake-off " and he is given credit for being more intelligent than his predecessors in taking the golden eggs without killing the goose.

103. Aracama Gorosabel, Lieut.-Colonel Juan

Doctor. Physician to the High Commission and to H.I.H. the *Khalifa*, with whom his wife is very friendly. Is director of the Military Hospital. Is well-off, having business interests and appreciable property. Is said to be pro-Masonic and to have been protected during the Spanish Civil War by the *Khalifa*. Professionally he is quick to reject responsibility by calling in other doctors, particularly Trigueros (*q.v.*) and Gimenez Diaz of Madrid. Socially he is easy to get on with, also clever at worming his way into remunerative official posts.

He is married for the second time and has six children.

104. Aragoncillo Sevilla, Cipriano

One of the most competent and hard-worked lawyers in Tetuan. Is said in some parts to be professionally incorrect in accepting more cases than he can deal with and complicating those he has in order to increase his already appreciable capital. Owns property and businesses, one of the latter, " Africa, S.A. ", being an important company dealing in pharmaceutical products.

Is agreeable personally and said to be of democratic and leftist inclinations, an enemy of the Franco régime. Is honorary legal consultant to this consulate-general and, thanks to his frequent visits, is on the police index, but he does not seem to care and he certainly gives valuable advice.

Was born in Malaga 46 years ago and is married.

105. Arderius, Juan

Artillery Captain attached to the High Commission. At present has no definite official duties. Easy to get on with. Married with two children.

106. Areces Matilla, Bernardo

General in the Medical Corps. Born some 60 years ago, married, has one child. Was head of the Medical Corps for the army in Morocco until July 1951, when he was replaced by Rafael Criado Cardona. Easy-going; lives quietly and wants no complications.

107. Ayuso Romero de Paz, Ignacio

Trader, 65 years old; married and has children. Arrived in Morocco without any capital. Now owns the firm of " Ayuso Sanchez Aranda y Cía, S.L. ", agents for Ford cars and accessories. Has a disagreeable character and is pro-German. The firm was black-listed during the last world war. Made an enormous profit when the firm was removed from the black-list and His Majesty's Government returned his considerable sterling deposit, paying him at 150 pesetas =£1 what he had bought at less than half that rate. He holds the unpaid post of Deputy-Mayor of the Municipal Council.

108. Baena Rodriguez, Miguel

Inspector of Elementary Education, attached to the " Delegación de Cultura ". He does not get on well with his superior Tomás Garcia Figueras (*q.v.*) and has more than once criticised the latter, whom he considers to behave on occasion as if he were Minister of National Education. Born in Cordova 42 years ago; married; children. Friendly and liberal.

109. Bellod, Antonio

Lawyer by profession is one of Tetuan Court's Judges. Some 55 years old, a widower. One of his daughters is engaged to a son of General Larrea (*q.v.*). Lives a retired life, but is agreeable company.

110. Benmaman, Jacob

Moroccan Jew, born in Tetuan 55 years ago. Married has no children. Merchant. Looks after the interests of Salvador Hassan of Tangier who is Hon. Portuguese Vice-Consul. He is also president of the Jewish community. Is Moroccan agent for Nestle's. Is not well educated but inflated and has a rather petulant character nor does he like to do favours.

111. Bertuchi, Mariano

Painter, born in Granada some 60 years ago. Married. His one son is a doctor. Holds the position of Inspector of Fine Arts and has created a monopolistic school of native arts but also a first-rate little native museum. He was recently decorated for services rendered to the administration. Lives a retired life, his only diversion being his circle of friends who meet in the Casino Español. Is said to have a large capital. Is a very agreeable character and is well loved by all who know him.

112. Bustinduy, José María

Municipal architect. Was of great assistance in designing and building the fine consular residence. Agreeable and intelligent. His wife is a pharmacist and owns a chemist's shop in the Barrio Malaga of this town.

113. Carvajal Arrieta, Luis

Colonel in the Corps of Control Officers. Holds the post of " Interventor Territorial ". Is also local head of the Falange. Staunch Falangist and Catholic. Married and has children. Socially very affable and agreeable and popular with the fair sex, for which he has a weakness. Energetic but with no outstanding talent. Untrustworthy also and anti-British, heard to boast that he often outwitted our consulate-general in Tangier when a controller there during the war.

114. Casquero Medina, José María

Married; has children; is 42 years old. Staff major. Head of the " Protectorate " Secretariat. Intelligent and agreeable. Gets on very well with the present High Commissioner. Friendly and useful to the consulate-general.

115. Castellano de Mateo, Eustasio

Commissioner of Police in the Zone's Security Department (Native Affairs Department). Very attentive towards his friends, but pays little attention to the visitors he receives in his office. Does what he can to help meet British consular requests. Is not liked by his subordinates because of his retiring character and because he does not help them with their small problems. Has the support of his chief, Calixto Zabal (*q.v.*). Is married and has children. Was born 48 years ago.

116. Cayuela, José María

State lawyer and adviser to the High Commission. Married, with two children. Born some 35 years ago. Pleasant and always willing to help his subordinates. Was much impressed by his fair and courteous treatment by His Majesty's Consular Court for Morocco when he had to prosecute the master of a British ship accused of smuggling.

117. Cordoba Samaniego, Fernando

Lieut-Colonel. Chief secretary to the High Commissioner. He is a personal friend of General Valiño who uses him as his private assistant. Is considered as holding the zone's best sinecure, since he continues in his previous post of director of the Polytechnic Institute at a monthly salary of 3,000 pesetas without doing a stroke of work for it. He also receives other salaries for various posts. Friendly and inclined to be useful.

118. Cuesta Monereo, José

Born in Huelva 56 years ago. Married and has five children. Divisional-general and Spanish High Commission's delegate-general in Morocco. Belongs to the General Staff. Has a distinguished military record, almost entirely in Andalusia, where he served under the Infante Don Carlos. He joined the National Movement in 1936 and became Queipo de Llano's Chief of Staff, directing all the military operations in the south of Andalusia. He also acted as a moderating influence on his chief's famous speeches over the radio.

He followed the present High Commissioner (General Garcia-Valiño) on the seniority list at the Staff College and on the latter's appointment to the present post was appointed his delegate-general.

Affable, unaffected and not given to pride or ostentation, is very " Sevillano " in his ways. A friendly man and authority without much responsibility for, or knowledge of, administration.

119. Diaz de Tuesta e Ibañez de Sendadrano, Angel

About 56 years old. Diplomat. Minister Plenipotentiary and chief of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the Spanish High Commission in Morocco.

A most unpleasant character, socially incorrect and a bore. Dresses very badly and appears in the streets like a workman, due to some extent, perhaps, to the fact that his family does not pay much attention to him. Goes out little except to the official functions which he is obliged to attend because of his position. Successive members of the Diplomatic Cabinet loath him and quickly leave. Keeps a French mistress whom he sees fairly frequently as well as others in Tangier and the French zone of Morocco. Is a crony only of the French zone consul-general in Tetuan who is not really *de carrière* and who rewards him. Anglophobe in spite of having spent much of his career in England and partly perhaps because he was removed at His Majesty's Government's request from both Cardiff and London during the war. Pro-German and a great supporter of Hitler when the latter was in power. Is almost a miser and performs no charitable acts in spite of appearing fanatically Catholic. One of his daughters is a pianist and occasionally gives concerts in Tetuan, Tangier and Ceuta, as well as writing articles on music for the local press. His wife is pleasant, well-liked locally and commiserated. A British official who recently visited Tetuan and had an opportunity of studying him at close quarters has suggested that he may be a drug-addict. He looks almost as unpleasant as he is.

120. Dominguez Fernandez, Salvado

Forty-five years old, a widower. Secretary in the " Delegacion General " and official in the Administrative Corps. Staunch " Falangist " of the old brigade (*camisas viejas*). During the Spanish Civil War he was attached to the Political Information Service and worked under cover in Tangier, frequently detaining Republicans with the help of various " gangster " friends and bringing them to Tetuan to be shot. He seems to be completely trusted in the High Commission and has thus occupied his position as secretary for several years, although the delegates-general have been changed several times. He was recently given the paid post of administrator attached to the local *Diario de Africa*.

121. Gallego Suarez Somonte, Manuel

Some 56 years old; married; has children. Air Force General. Holds position of General-in-Chief of the Air Force in Morocco. Has an unpleasant character and grossly ill-treats the personnel under him. Lives in a villa taken in the name of the Air Force and has spent a lot of public money in repairing it. He has it staffed with Air Force personnel as cooks, messengers, boot-blacks, guards, &c., and is reputed to make a lot of money using Air Force 'planes to fly contraband into Spain. Attends the cinemas and theatres daily. When the High Commissioner flies to Spain the machine is almost invariably piloted by Gallego personally, perhaps as guarantee of its airworthiness.

122. Gamir Rupert, Guillermo

Colonel. Second-in-Command of the Moroccan Air Base. An agreeable personality and the dandy of Tetuan, always well-dressed and seldom seen in uniform. Intelligent and well-liked by everyone with whom he comes into contact. Some time ago he was Air Attaché to the Spanish Legation in Tangier. Married. His wife is well-known and liked in local Spanish social circles.

123. Garcia-Cuencas, Tomás

Fifty-six-year old retired Colonel, now head of the Veterinary Service. Has lived in Morocco for many years. Very diplomatic and agreeable; likes dances and the " social whirl." Was attached to the Spanish Legation in Tangier during his military career and was well-received in French and English circles there. It is said that he is open to bribes in his official position. Very friendly. Has a French wife.

124. Garcia-Sañudo y Giraldo, Manuel

Newspaperman. Official Chronicler of Tetuan. 48 years old. Married and has children. A man of straw. Lives praising all the world and especially those who happen to be in charge. Is not taken seriously by authorities or the man in the street. Claims to be a friend of the English and indeed often supplies the consulate-general with news and views sometimes of some value. President of the recently formed " Bull-fighters' Club." Amateur poet. Politically " Requeté."

125. Gomez Arroyo, Francisco

Born in Granada some 60 years ago. Retired army general. Doctor. Director of the zone's Civil Health Services. Not particularly well-qualified for the post which he holds as recompense for his excellent military record—was always more soldier than doctor. Staunch Catholic, easy to get on with. Does not like doing favours and was very strict in his soldiering days.

125A. Gonzalez Del Agua, Francisco

Fifty-five-year old widower with one daughter. Belongs to the Spanish " Communications Corps " and holds the post of Chief Inspector of the Moroccan Postal Service. Affable but with little capacity for his job which he holds through the influence of Sr. Martorell (*q.v.*). Is said to do well, principally through new issues of stamps, and is rumoured to have amassed a considerable fortune during the few years he has been in Tetuan. Is very mean. He seems from his conversation to be strongly pro-Franco.

126. Gonzalez Pons, Enrique

Chief of Staff to the army in Morocco. Formerly Military Governor of the " Campo de Gibraltar," later in Ceuta and subsequently in the Army Training Corps at Melilla. Distinguished military record and

an outstanding writer. Was appointed to his present post on promotion in August 1949. Married with children; practising Catholic. No social life and is seen out only with his family. Personal friend of the High Commissioner.

127. Herrero Muñoz, Luis

Captain in the Air Force Medical Services. Married to the daughter of a former artillery officer, commanding in Seville in July 1936, who was executed by Queipo de Llano for refusing to take part in the uprising. Herrero himself is very Catholic and a Fascist (*camisa vieja*) and related by marriage to Sr. García Figueras (*q.v.*). (His uncle was director general of security in the zone during the Republic and deputy to the Cortes for the Province of Cadiz. He fled to France and was later handed over to Franco by the Germans, summarily tried and shot.) Dr. Herrero is at present studying English, but he used to deride others who were doing so before the end of the last world war. Although he now shows himself very friendly, he was not so formerly when friends were needed. He is said to have no scruples about using his political and official influence to better his position even at the expense of his friends and companions. Nevetheless he is pleasant and entertaining company.

128. Jauregui y Gil Delgado, Juan José

Naval Commander (Capitán de Navío), head of the naval forces in North Africa since November 1949. Affable and something of an authority on classical times, myths and heroes, but little seen. Friendly. Has a Belgian wife.

129. Larrea Rodriguez, Manuel

Cavalry General, at present native affairs delegate. Spends little time at his job, which he leaves to his subordinates, Lieut.-Colonel Garriga and Lieut.-Colonel Villalon (this latter of the Political Section). Affable and receives anyone seeking an interview, although he takes little action afterwards. Has wished to leave Morocco for some time now, in order to obtain promotion, which he cannot do while he holds a civil post and not a military command. Married and has five children. His eldest son is under observation in the Military Hospital and said to be mentally unbalanced. An unhappy man with a conscience, who knows that his department is hated by the Moors.

130. Limia Perez, Adolfo

Fifty-four years old; married; has children. Head of the Moroccan Customs. Is an exceptionally hard-working and honest man and a staunch supporter of the administration's interests, who does not admit " recommendations " concerning official matters " sub-judice " (seizures of contraband, &c.). Has always done his utmost to satisfy our consular requests. Reliable and friendly. A monarchist.

131. Llord O'Lawlor, Manuel

Widower with children. Reported to have a mistress. Was at one time head of the *Makhzan* Properties where, it seems, he took bribes. Now Municipal Judge. Affable and fond of company but completely untrustworthy and a menace to the best interests of both the administration and the public. Anglophobe.

132. Lopez Lopez, José

One of the zone's administrative officials. Holds the position of archivist to the Finance Department. A widower with no children of about 59 years old. Pleasant company and very popular in Tetuan where he has lived for some 30 years. Because of this he knows well most of the older residents, especially the army officers from Franco down to all the other officers who have passed through Tetuan during their careers. He addresses most of the generals and colonels as " tu " for the simple reason that he knew them all when they were subalterns. Has very liberal ideas and has not belonged to any political party. Is also representative of the Society of Authors, for which he receives a small fee, and is correspondent for the Melilla newspaper *Telegrama del Rif*, owned by the former mayor of Melilla, Alvarez Claro, with whom he is on very friendly terms and who helps him as much as possible.

133. Manso, Gumersindo

Colonel. Sub-Inspector of the Khalifian Forces. Excellent character, well-loved by all his subordinates, honourable and just in his decisions. Some 59 years old; married with one son.

134. Martinez Gomez, Pedro

Major. Vice-Consul attached to the High Commission, this latter a cover for his real mission as one of the heads of the Military Information Service, with offices in the Paseo de las Palmeras. Rarely leaves his home and is very jealous where his wife is concerned; she is an unusually pretty woman. Treats his subordinates very well. About 44 years old.

135. Martorell Otzet, Vicente

Lieut.-Colonel of Engineers. Married, with two sons, both of whom belong to the same corps. Disagreeable and reserved in character, but intelligent. Is not seen out much except at official functions and sometimes with his family at the " Sociedad Hipica ". Is reputed to have amassed a huge fortune during his tenure of office. Has certainly wasted public funds on extravagant and totally unnecessary enterprises. Was very pro-Nazi and still an authoritarian, but is now friendly.

136. Martinez Mateo, Luis

Lieut.-Colonel (Cavalry). At present secretary in the Department of Education and Culture. Also writes for the press under various pen-names and picks up a third part-living by sitting on a Water Board. Agreeable company but is said by some to have an unpleasant character. Knows English well, and does not speak it badly. Is generally attached to the visiting British or American officials and officers. Some 48 years old, married, with one son, whom he thinks of sending to the United Kingdom for a short time to study.

137. Perez Polo, Martin

Diplomat (Consular Corps). Spanish Consul in Tetuan. Affable and friendly. Has a socially ambitious Spanish wife.

138. Rivas Gonzalez, Felix

Born 45 years ago in Palencia. Married and has children. Industrial engineer; director of Electras Marroquies and President of the Chamber of Commerce. A disagreeable character, but a staunch Catholic. Son of a pharmacist, he became president of deputies under Primo de Rivera. Is politically right-wing and a supporter of Franco. One of his daughters, a qualified pharmacist, has entered a convent. His father had wider views and is reported to have said that " the Reds stole my pharmacies, but Franco kept them ". Is trying to show himself friendly.

139. Salazar, Francisco

Judge of the Tetuan " Audiencia ". Staunch Catholic, pleasant character. Lives a retired life. Showed himself in the 1945–46 Fereres and Amer cases (British subject and protected person illegally imprisoned and maltreated) too subservient to administrative pressure to be a good judge. Anglophobe during the last war.

140. Santamaría Quesada, Ramiro

Born in Melilla 27 years ago. Married. Newspaperman, and special correspondent for several organs in Spain and Morocco. Falangist (camisa vieja). Fought in the Civil War and was in the Blue Division. Was official chronicler of Tetuan, but expressed himself too freely in an article about Sr. Tomás García Figueras and lost his official standing. During 1951 was employed by the Military Information Services, for which he was paid, but it seems that he has left this job. A few months ago an eviction order was made out against him for non-payment of rent. Talks a lot and thinks he knows everybody's secrets. Pretends to be very friendly but should not be trusted.

141. Suarez Alvarez, Rodrigo

Fifty-five-year old infantry colonel. Married. Has children. Sub-delegate of native affairs. Good character and does not vacillate when decisions have to be taken. Is—or, at least, was during the last war—pro-German. Was formerly Interventor Territorial of the Jebala and Qert. Is also director of the Protectorate's Academy for District Control Officers.

142. Torres Martinez, Rafael

Fifty years old. Married. Has seven children. Lieut.-Colonel, aide-de-camp to the High Commissioner. Affable, and when off duty frequents the Casino Español with a circle of friends. His children are friends of those of the High Commissioner.

143. Trigueros Peñalver, Francisco

Forty-five years old, married. Doctor (Major). On the staff of the military hospital. Hard-working. Former household physician to the High Commissioner (Varela). Is pro-German and a great admirer of their technique and scientific work. Is nevertheless friendly and affable and it is said that during the Civil War he helped a Left-wing doctor evade capture.

144. Valencia, J.

Thirty-five years old. Bachelor. Captain and the *Khalifa's* aide-de-camp. Rather proud but a brave soldier. Has the Military Medal.

145. Valiño, Lieut.-General Rafael García-

High Commissioner since April 1951. For previous particulars see Madrid Embassy's personalities report. Has already proved a great improvement on his predecessor, the late General Varela. Is a painstaking administrator intent on finding out things for himself and shrewd enough to put his finger on weak and rotten places, but has not yet shown ability to sack those responsible for them and for the prevailing corruption. Is in fact said to be tarred with the same brush, but this may be only a malicious forecast from his past association with Alvarez Claro, the rogue mayor of Melilla, now brought by him to Tetuan (*q.v.*). Has taken trouble to show himself friendly. Though probably well-intentioned, seems a weak character.

146. Vela Blasco, Rufino

Mayor of Tetuan. Lieut.-Colonel (disabled).

Interventor Municipal. Married; one daughter. Director of the Banco Exterior de España. Came to Tetuan recommended by General Varela, whose intimate friend he was. Is considered a decent fellow but too influenced by others. Not very competent as mayor and has done little except increase the municipal taxes. It is said that he is to be relieved shortly. Has a daughter learning English but has not shown himself particularly friendly.

148. Villarejo de los Campos

Fiscal de la Audiencia, both in Tetuan and in Tangier (of the Tribunal Mixte). Falangist 100 per cent. Somewhat proud. Likes social life and is seen about a lot. On one occasion contraband was discovered in his official car at the frontier. but eventually the chauffeur received the blame. His wife was educated in Gibraltar.

148. Zabal, Calixto

Director of Security in the zone. Lieut.-Colonel of the " Guardia Civil ". Strong supporter of the Nationalist Movement. Has a large fortune, with property near Seville. Friendly and helpful when allowed to be by the Diplomatic Cabinet.

CHAPTER III.—TANGIER, INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/1 No. 14

POLITICAL REPORT, OCTOBER–DECEMBER, 1951

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received 25th February)

(No. 11) *Tangier,*
Sir, *6th February, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended 31st December, 1951. I am indebted for this report to Mr. Pinsent, who was in charge of this post during most of the quarter.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and enclosure to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Madrid, Cairo, Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure in No. 14

General

The last quarter of 1951 saw the arrival at Rabat, early in October, of General Guillaume, to replace General Juin as Resident-General. His attitude and speeches did nothing to allay the fears of the Nationalists in Tangier and elsewhere. On November 1st there were violent incidents in Casablanca during the local elections, which the Tangier Nationalists attributed to French design. During this quarter Egypt and other Arab League countries brought the question of French treatment of the Moroccans in Morocco to the United Nations, without, however, succeeding in getting the matter put on the agenda. In spite of the meeting of the French Resident-General and the Spanish High Comissioner at Laraiche on 12th December, where the French are believed to have called for Spanish co-operation in suppressing the Nationalists, it was during this period that signs of a rapprochement between the authorities in the Spanish Zone of Morocco and the Moroccan Nationalists of that area, led by AbdelKhalek Torres, became visible. visible.

Activities of Political Parties

2. The Moroccan National Front was busy during this period, first of all preparing for the expected hearing of the Nationalist case against France at the United Nations General Assembly, and later, after the General Assembly had started, sending its leading members to and from Paris, Cairo, &c. Allal el Fassi, leader of the Istiqlal, the most important party amongst those comprising the Moroccan National Front, spent the whole of the quarter in the Middle East. He was in Syria towards the end of October, and was reported sometime later to be in Indonesia, although no concrete evidence was forthcoming of his journey there. In October he, together with Hassan el Wazzani of the Moroccan Reform Party, was refused a visa for France for which he had applied in order to attend the General Assembly of the United Nations.

3. It is now known that conversations went on during the quarter between Abdel-Khalek Torres and the leaders of the Reform Party on the one hand, and the Spanish Military Attaché in Tangier on the other. Torres's terms for return to the Spanish Zone of Morocco are believed to include freedom of speech and association and the opportunity to reorganise his Nationalist Party on the same lines as before 1947 when he was expelled from the Spanish Zone. No definite information about any agreement between Torres and the Spaniards was available during this period, but there were several indications from articles published in the Tangier Arabic daily newspaper *Minbar ash-Sha'ab,* that some attempt at a rapprochement between the two was contemplated. On the occasion of the Feast of the Throne on 18th November meetings were held by the Nationalists in various private and semi-public places in Tangier at which Torres and Mahommed Mekki Nasiri of the Moroccan Unity Party, as well as other leading Nationalists, made speeches. These speeches showed complete hostility to France and to the French régime in Morocco, yet appeared to leave the door open for negotiations with Spain. Torres remained in Tangier for the whole of the quarter without making any trips either to Paris or Cairo or Madrid, such as were made by his colleagues of the National Front.

4. Although Hassan el Wazzani was refused a visa for France in October, he was given one in December and went to Paris with a couple of secretaries to attend the United Nations. Mahommed Mekki Nasiri, the leader of the Moroccan Unity Party (which has now lost much of its importance) and owner of the *Minbar ash-Sha'ab,* also managed to obtain a visa with which he went to Paris in December. These comings and goings of the junior members of the National Front did not appear to have any real significance, but seemed to show that Wazzani and Nasiri, whose parties do not share the prestige of those led by Allal el Fassi and Torres, were trying to keep themselves in the public eye and thus maintain their importance before the world and the French and Spanish Governments.

5. On 1st November the Tunisian Nationalist, Habib Bourguiba, accompanied by his son, arrived in Tangier. He was removed from the zone by the International Police on 2nd November on the orders of the President of the Committee of Control. This incident caused much feeling amongst Nationalist circles and received a certain amount of publicity abroad. It soon became known that the decision to expel Bourguiba from the International Zone had been taken by only five members of the Committee of Control, that its president had not consulted the American, British or Spanish members, all of whom had protested at the irregular procedure. There were no strong public reactions, however, and the Casablanca riots which occurred on the same day, and subsequent events in Tunisia, have justified the Committee of Control's action to the European public at least.

6. The presence of Miss Margaret Pope, a British journalist of pro-Arab sympathies, in Tangier continued to be a cause of friction between the French and the British. Fortunately she did not spend much time in the zone during this period. Another British writer of Nationalist sympathies who was in the International Zone during this quarter was Mr. Rom Landau, whose books on Morocco have not endeared him to the French authorities. He spent over two months in Tangier collecting material for a book on the International Zone and making frequent and open contacts with the Nationalists of all parties. He finally left Tangier for New York via Gibraltar with Si Lagzaoui, a well-known Nationalist who had been living in Tangier ever since he was exiled from the French Zone at the end of 1950. The French are convinced that Rom Landau went to the United States in order to intrigue there on behalf of the Moroccan Nationalists.

Communism and Labour

7. Of the three Communists against whom the Committee of Control made expulsion orders in July 1951 (see quarterly report for period ended 30th September, 1951) the Spaniard, Angel Martín Garci-Martin, was still in Tangier at the end of the year. He had tried to obtain visas for neighbouring territories without success, and had tried to get into the French Zone on false papers, also without success. In December the Spanish Minister obtained the agreement of the Committee of Control to having Martín expelled from the zone, *manu militari,* if necessary, on his guarantee that Martín could go to Spain without suffering persecution or imprisonment if he did not indulge in any further seditious activities. When Martín asked Señor del Castillo for a further guarantee that his past as a Spanish Republican officer would not be held against him, he was told that this request would have to be referred to Madrid. Meanwhile Angel Martín remains in Tangier.

Relations with the Administration and Committee of Control

8. In October the French Consul-General requested the Committee of Control to issue an expulsion order against Allal el Fassi. This request was agreed to by all the committee, with the abstention of the American member, since they considered that it was a better procedure to keep el Fassi out of Tangier by a formal order rather than on the technicality of incorrect papers. The Mendoub was therefore requested by the President of the Committee of Control to sign an expulsion order against Allal el Fassi, but refused on the grounds that he could not do this without consulting the Sultan. The matter was therefore submitted to the Sultan, but no decision had been taken by the end of the year. Meanwhile it is known that Allal el Fassi has new papers, though it is not certain whether they are Egyptian or Moroccan, and it may therefore be difficult to exclude him from the zone if he attempts to make an entry.

Reaction to World Events

9. The reaction of most Moroccans in Tangier to events in Persia and Egypt remained the same as that reported in our last quarterly political report. The manœuvres of Messrs. Musaddiq and Nahas Pasha against His Majesty's Government were

followed with great interest by all politically conscious people. The more intelligent Moors realised that these gentlemen were largely moved by considerations of personal gain and local politics, but the fact that two Moslem countries had stood up against the mighty British tended to attract the sympathy of the ordinary man. Europeans, of course, were almost entirely sympathetic to Britain in these two cases, particularly the French, who looked upon the British use of force in the Suez Canal Zone as a useful precedent for possible use by them later in their North African territories. The achievement of independence by Libya was fêted in the Nationalist press and greeted with gloomy forbodings by the French.

Press

10. The press in Tangier has remained much the same as before. The Spanish daily *España* has continued to give the full coverage to foreign news provided by Reuter's news agency; comments in the same paper show more sympathy towards Britain of late, particularly since the General Election of October 1951 and the resultant change of Government. The French daily, *La dépêche Marocaine*, has given full accounts of the incidents in the Near and Middle East, and on occasion its commentaries have not been able to disguise admiration for the British stand in Egypt.

11. Mahommed Mekki Nasiri's *Minbar ash-Sha'ab* (Tribune of the People) has continued to act as the main publicity organ of the Moroccan National Front. It also showed evidence that the Nationalists have been expecting some concessions from the Spanish authorities in their Zone of Morocco for some time. On 5th October it published an article by Mekki Nasiri recommending that Spain should hand over the administration of her Zone of Morocco to the Moroccans, thus gaining for herself the eternal friendship of all Morocco. Articles were also published about proceedings at the United Nations. Care was always taken to express complete hostility towards France, in contrast with the friendly attitude shown towards Spain, indicating that the Nationalists are trying to drive a wedge between the two occupying Powers of Morocco. On 26th October there was an article on the British attitude towards the Moroccan case in the United Nations, advising the British Government not to follow France right to the end of the road of collaboration in Morocco.

12. On the 21st November Mekki Nasiri restarted publication in Tangier of his French-language weekly *La Voix du Maroc*. This paper had been suppressed for six months by the Committee of Control in 1947 for propaganda against the established order in the neighbouring zones. Its reappearance was no doubt due to the provision of funds to Nasiri by the Istiqlal Party. It is now almost a pure propaganda sheet for the Nationalist case against France, and may one day again suffer the same fate as in 1947. Another French-language weekly, *Al-Istiqlal*, publication of which was started in Rabat by the Nationalists during October, has also been circulating in Tangier. It is better written and printed than Nasiri's weekly, but its propaganda is no less crude.

JM 1015/30 No. 15

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR

Spanish Government's Proposal regarding Tangier

Mr. Eden to Sir J. Balfour (Madrid)

(No. 84. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, 16*th April,* 1952.

The Spanish Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, when he said that I would no doubt have received the Spanish Government's *note verbale* on the subject of Tangier. His Excellency then handed me an aide-mémoire, copy attached. He said that he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would be able to return a favourable answer to the Spanish Government's proposal.

2. I replied that the Spanish note had been received in the Foreign Office only yesterday, and that we had not had time to consider all the important issues it raised. But there was one point which I wanted to make at once. The Spanish note suggested that the 1945 Agreement should be considered to have lapsed. We could not possibly accept that. On the contrary, we held strongly to the view that it was still in force.

3. The Ambassador replied that the Spanish Government had never accepted the Agreement of 1945. It had been negotiated without their concurrence. In their view the 1923/28 Statute was a more suitable basis, and they wished to revert to that without delay. I said that I understood that this was the Spanish Government's purpose, but I must repeat that we did not accept that the 1945 Agreement had lapsed. Apart from any other considerations, if the Agreement were not in force, chaos would ensue in the International Zone. I hoped, therefore, that the Spanish Government did not dissent from the decision of the Committee of Control of 8th April that the *status quo* of the International Administration should in any case be maintained for the time being. His Excellency repeated that, in the view of the Spanish Government and in the light of the experience in particular of the riots of the last few days, the Spanish Government held to the view that the 1923/28 régime should be reintroduced. I said that I understood that this was the Spanish Government's view and I had given his Excellency ours.

4. El Duque de Primo de Rivera asked when he could hear further from me. I replied probably not for a few days. I must clearly consult the French Government on a matter of this kind before I could let him have our considered view. The Ambassador said that he hoped I should try and persuade the French Government that the Spanish proposals were reasonable because the French Government had a very considerable interest. I said this was so. But we also had an interest in the zone on our own account. There were 1,600 British subjects there and considerable British interests. Therefore, the matter had to be carefully weighed. I would probably communicate with his Excellency within the next few days.

5. The Ambassador was persistent in his representations, and I had the impression that the Spanish Government will try to press this matter very hard, using the pretext of the recent riots.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Tetuan and Rabat, and to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Paris, Rome, Brussels, The Hague and Lisbon.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

Enclosure in No. 15

Aide-mémoire

The Spanish Government attaches the utmost importance to the Note handed to Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid on 7th April, 1952, regarding the régime governing the International Zone of Tangier, a point which I have been asked to bring to the notice of the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Her Majesty's Government is already aware of the Spanish point of view on the provisional régime for Tangier introduced in 1945, which was expressed in the Spanish reply, given in September 1945, to the Anglo-French Note on this matter, and in which the Spanish Government made a full reservation of rights in connection with such an Agreement, which was, furthermore, negotiated without Spanish participation.

The experience of the past few years, allied to the regrettable incidents which have recently occurred in Tangier, has shown up the inefficient working of the Statute granted to Tangier in accordance with the 1945 Agreement. Although the previous régime, under which Tangier was governed in accordance with the Statute granted by the Agreements of 1923 and 1928, did not take into full consideration the importance of the interests of the Moroccan people and those which Spain has in the International Zone of Tangier, the Spanish Government considers it was much more adequate in meeting the needs of the case than is the present régime. For this reason the Spanish Government proposes that the former Statute should be reintroduced as a measure of urgency to give the International Zone adequate guarantees for its well-being. pending the holding of the diplomatic conference which will have to be held in the future to study the final organisation of the Government of Tangier.

The Spanish Authorities hope that the British Government will understand the justification of the motives which have induced this move and will agree with the Spanish point of view regarding the reintroduction of the 1923/28 régime. They likewise hope that it will be able to advise the French Government along these lines with a view to their adopting a favourable attitude to such a change.

London,
16*th April,* 1952.

JM 1013/3 No. 16

POLITICAL REPORT, JANUARY–MARCH 1952

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received 5th May)

(No. 42. Confidential) *Tangier, 19th April, 1952.*

General

The quarter was quiet except for the last day, when serious rioting resulted in some deaths, but it is far from certain that this was due to Nationalist activities.

2. Relations between the Administrator on one side and the Committee of Control and the Assembly have continued to deteriorate to a point at which difficulties in the running of the administrative machine are very possible.

Activities of Political Parties

3. There was no great excitement during January apart from the stories of Spanish Arab and, therefore, Spanish Moroccan rapprochement. In February, however, these stories and negotiations bore fruit of a sort, and AbdelKhalek Torres returned to Tetuan to be received by the Spanish authorities with signs of friendship and respect. The occasion was seized upon by him to thank Tangier for its hospitality to him, and by him and others to contract the liberal attitude of Spain with the alleged repressive French colonialism. Hach Abdulam Temsamani, editor of the *Minbar Echaab*, went so far after visiting General Garcia Valiño in Tetuan to announce the dawn of liberty in the Spanish Zone. They are probably due to be disillusioned. In February, Mohamed Mekki Naciri, leader of the Moroccan Unity Party, on his way back from Paris to Morocco, stopped in Madrid for talks with the Spanish authorities, and about the same time Haj Ahmed Balafej, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal, came through Tangier *en route* to Switzerland for a cure.

4. These various comings and goings did not seem to be abnormal and it looked as if the month would end with nothing beyond the Spanish Moroccan rapprochement to note. The day of mourning decreed for the 30th March, the fortieth anniversary of the signature of the Treaty of Fez, turned out, however, quite otherwise. After a peaceful morning, fighting between Moors and plain-clothes police started in Grand Socco at about 1·15 p.m., and became a general riot. The Moors sacked shops and stoned cars, and the police opened fire with machine guns, killing, officially, eight people, but probably many more. One Swiss visitor was killed by the rioters. The origin of the riots is obscure: there was some organisation behind the pillaging mob, but it is almost certain that the Nationalists did not organise it. A view strongly held by many is that the Spaniards organised at least part of it, but no concrete evidence has been produced.

Communism

5. The Spaniard, Angel Martin, to whom reference was made in paragraph 7 of the last quarterly report, was still in Tangier at the end of March. Under notice to leave, he disappeared during the last week in March.

6. Earlier, the French Consul-General had asked the Committee of Control to lift the expulsion order against the French Communist Favier, who though a Tangerine by origin and having a family in Tangier, had not been convicted in the courts and had, nevertheless, been expelled. The French Consul-General inferred that Favier, having been punished, would not misbehave any more. The Committee of Control raised no objection to the cancellation of the expulsion order.

Relations of Administration and Committee of Control

7. In the report for the quarter ending 30th September, 1951, it was forecast that the Administrator's characteristics might bring him into conflict with the Committee of Control. During the past quarter there has been a very evident tendency in this direction and the Administrator by his inclination to follow dictatorial methods, has also found himself in trouble with the Legislative Assembly. He has been reminded in the Assembly that it is the Vice-President, not he, who was in the chair, and in private by the French Consul-General that Tangier is not the *Estado Novo*. His evident wish to evade responsibility and let the Chief of Police take all the blame for the riots at the end of March has brought his stock very low.

8. There were, in February, some mildly acrimonious exchanges between the Committee of Control and members of the Assembly on the one side and the Administration on the other, in this case really the Director of Finance, about the fixing of exchange rates and the buying and selling of foreign exchange. The Director of Finance was certainly at fault in paying civil servants at an artificial rate of exchange to obviate sufferings resulting from a fall of the franc. He suffered the deserved rebuff.

Assistant Administrator for Moorish Affairs

9. M. Girardière was succeeded towards the middle of March by M. Vermeil who came reluctantly on the orders of General Guillaume to take over the post. He is reputed to have had Vichy sympathies during the war until the Darlan-Giraud North African episode after which he fought on the allied side. He has spent a large part of his life in Morocco and seems to have been one of the few people in the Administration to give warning that riots might be expected at the end of March.

Reaction to World Events

10. The position is much as was reported for the last quarter of 1951 as far as events in Persia and Egypt were concerned, though there seems to be a growing feeling that M. Musaddiq and Nahas Pasha may not have done their countries any good. Persia and Egypt have, however, been rather pushed out of first place by Tunisia where, of course, Moorish sympathies are entirely against the French regardless of whether right or wrong.

The Death of His Majesty King George VI

11. The death of His Majesty was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of sympathy and respect by all races and classes in Morocco. Behind the sympathy and respect it was possible to feel a jealousy, certainly unconscious, of British institutions. The unfortunate disagreement between the Sultan and the French authorities as to the representation of the former at the funeral was seized by the Nationalists as another chance for attacking the French and indeed the French were made to look as if they had been indulging in petty persecution.

Press

12. The Tangier daily papers have continued to follow the policy of supporting their own country's actions. The *Dépêche Marocaine* has given good coverage to the General Assembly of the United Nations and in particular to its postponement of the discussion of the Moroccan complaint. Much attention has also been given to recent events in Tunisia, while the Cairo riots and Suez Canal disturbances also received their full share of attention. The *España* played up Spain's close relations with the Arab League members and proudly quoted Azzam Pasha's remark that Spain was the natural mediator between the Middle East and the West.

13. The Nationalist Arabic daily *Minbar ash-Sha'ab* continued to put forward the National Front's views on all subjects. It followed the United Nations discussions on Morocco very closely. In discussing the motives of various countries for agreeing to postponement of the case, it suggested that Britain had no desire to see France remain in occupation of Morocco, and would prefer to see the French follow the British example in Egypt and India. On the 25th March the *Minbar ash-Sha'ab* published a National Front communiqué asking all Moors to observe the 30th March, the fortieth anniversary of the Treaty of Fez, as a day of mourning. The paper published the text of the North African Nationalist Pact signed by the Nationalist Parties of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco in March. It also published an open letter on the 1st March to the President of the Committee of Control complaining of the brutality of the Tangier police, to which point was given soon after by the conviction of three policemen for torturing a prisoner.

JM 1015/42 No. 17

SPANISH NOTE ON TANGIER

Sir J. Balfour to Mr. Eden. (Received 22nd April)

(No. 118) *Madrid,*
(Telegraphic) *22nd April, 1952.*

My unclassified Despatch No. 128.

I have received second Spanish Note of which following is summary:—

2. The note explains that the object of the Spanish action in presenting a memorandum in Tangier and a note reporting the memorandum in Madrid was to ensure that the Governments concerned should

appreciate the reasons which underlay Spains case. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wished thereby to accelerate the preliminary steps towards a solution of the problem in view of the impossibility of allowing to continue indefinitely, a *de facto* situation which does not correspond with the requirements of the good government and administration of Tangier. There is a patent anomaly in a situation which obliges the authorities in Tangier to meet events as serious as those of 30th March without any legal basis for repressing them or for avoiding them in future.

3. The note goes on to request this embassy to communicate the opinion of the Spanish Government that the rights reserved to France to decide the moment for calling the conference referred to in Article 2 of the agreement published 31st August, 1945, has lapsed since the agreement itself is out of date: this decision, therefore, reserved equality to all powers involved since it is a question of setting in motion a procedure of international legislation of interest to all concerned and which, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the agreement, was left to the initiative of the French Government for reasons of expediency and only for six months.

4. The note therefore requests Her Majesty's Government's response to their original note and memorandum.

5. Text, translation and comments follow by bag.

JM 1013/6 No. 18

TANGIER: QUARTERLY POLITICAL SUMMARY FOR PERIOD ENDED 30th JUNE, 1952

Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received 12th July)

(No. 71. Confidential) *Tangier, 7th July, 1952.*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended 30th June, 1952.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure in No. 18

Quarterly Political Summary for period ended 30th June, 1952

General

The first days of the quarter were dominated by consequences of the riots on 30th March, the enquiry of the military attachés and trials of the culprits and alleged culprits. These events would have sufficed to disrupt the not very easy equilibrium of Tangier. When overlaid by the Spanish demand in early April for a revision of the statute, full advantage was taken of the opportunities presented for the practice of the traditional Tangerine pastime of evading responsibility and passing on the blame.

The intrigues and mutual suspicions of the Administrator, the Police, the Assistant Administrators, the Assembly and various members of the Committee of Control, were such that in April there was a general deterioration of relations. In the circumstances it must be counted to the good that despite one or two shouting matches between the Spanish, Belgians and French in the Committee of Control, and between the French and Spanish on the military attachés' Committee of Enquiry, the committee still, at the end of June, had something of the atmosphere of a little club, and a few of the remarks which had been recorded in the minutes of the committee meetings had been suppressed by mutual and friendly agreement.

At the same time it must be admitted that the mutual lack of confidence between members of the Administration and Committee of Control generated by the riots, taken with the uncertainty as to the future arising from the general conviction that negotiations and considerable changes in the Administration are inevitable, did not contribute to the smooth running of the zone.

Activities of Political Parties

Although it came generally to be believed that the riots at the end of March had not been organised by the Nationalists, a considerable flutter was caused at the beginning of May by the arrest of Si el Hach Abdelesam Temsamami, an influential member of the Moroccan Unity Party and director of the newspaper *Minbar es Shab*. He was alleged to have incited Moors to violence at a meeting at his home on the morning of Sunday, 30th March. The welter of charge and counter-charge, and of completely contradictory sworn testimony as to his whereabouts on 30th March, that followed this arrest, made all the parties concerned look rather ridiculous; though the French, being more moderate, appeared rather less so than the Spanish and the police. The accused eventually came before the British judge on the Mixed Tribunal who released him on bail to give time to sift the conflicting evidence. In view of the ease with which false evidence can be obtained on either side, the decision has been generally regarded as equivalent to a dismissal of the case.

Shortly after the riots a group of Moors, including some Nationalists, called on all members of the Committee of Control to protest at the behaviour of the police. Their attitude when visiting Her Majesty's Consulate-General was reasonable, though they left an impression that they had a little difficulty in controlling their feelings. Other members of the committee had the same impression.

In the middle of May, Allal el Fassi, the leader of the Istiqlal Party, made a statement in Cairo to the effect that there was no point in changing from international to Spanish police in the International Zone as all three zones should be Moroccan in any case. This, together with reports from the Spanish Zone, left an indefinable impression abroad in June that the Spanish-Arabic friendship, of which so much was heard in the first four months of the year, was already looking a little pale. This did not escape the notice of the French in Tangier.

Administration and Committee of Control

In the first part of April the Committee of Control met almost daily. The members thereof, confronted with the unexpected and unwelcome situation that a mob could take charge when it liked, were plainly bothered as to the action to be taken. The Administrator and Chief of Police attended some of the first meetings in April. The unwillingness of the first to accept responsibility, and the apparent inability of the second to appreciate the shortcomings of his force, were not helpful. It was probably lucky that the Spanish president of the committee was away at the beginning of April, as after his return he expressed an unofficial opinion that the action of the committee in asking the two neighbouring zones to send troops had been illegal. Without these troops it is possible that the panicky feeling which caused a backfire on the sea front to be echoed by the noise of closing shutters on the main street half a mile away, would have continued indefinitely.

The arrival of the troops and, immediately afterwards, of H.M.S. *Loch More* rapidly reduced the feeling of insecurity in the town. But the general suspicion of Spanish motives and actions, the general exasperation at the Portuguese Administrator's efforts to put all responsibility on the police, and the efforts of the predominantly Belgian and French police to pass it on to the Nationalists, the Spanish Zone, the International Assembly or any other scapegoat, made the meetings of the Committee of Control in April and May more interesting than usual. It was curious to notice that the Spanish representative tacitly assumed that he would be the committee's channel of communication with the Nationalists, and that the French representative made no comment.

With the passage of time, the absence during parts of May and June of both Spanish and French Consuls-General, leaving Her Majesty's Consul-General unwillingly in charge for short periods, the atmosphere and speed of action in the Committee of Control had, by the end of June, returned to normal.

Proposals to Reform the Statute

Although the panics and passions had faded by the end of the quarter, there remained the more important question of revising the statute, which throughout the quarter had given rise to a great number of "informal" conversations between the representatives of the various Powers concerned. In these the French and Spanish Consuls-General took the lead and at one time it looked as if they might expect the other Powers to accept an agreement made between them. In May and June, however, the French, Spanish and Italian representatives were assiduously anxious that Her Majesty's Consul-General should also be informed of their views. It was (and still is) noticeable that the Belgian Consul-General is assumed to be in the pocket of

the French, the Netherlands Consul-General in the pocket of Her Majesty's Consul-General, the Portuguese Consul-General is generally ignored, the United States Minister tends to stand aside, and the Italian is very anxious to keep himself in the picture, somewhat to the irritation of the Spanish and French Consuls-General. It was generally assumed that, however the formal negotiations were conducted, the real negotiations would be conducted by the four representatives of the United States, France, Spain and the United Kingdom; but towards the end of the quarter it became apparent that the United States Minister was not enthusiastic and that representatives of the smaller Powers might, in consequence, become more closely involved.

Police

Late in June the Administrator suddenly submitted to the Assembly a Bill to increase the present police force by some 130 men. The Committee of Control had not discussed those reforms which had been suggested by the present Chief of Police and Administrator, in whom they had shown a singular lack of confidence in April, nor had they discussed the report of the military attachés which was not complimentary to the present police force or to its commanders. The French and Spanish Consuls-General were both away from Tangier so it would have been tactless to ask the committee to meet to discuss this subject. The British and Italian members of the Assembly, therefore, having consulted their consuls-general, managed to secure an adjournment of the discussion on the Bill. The Administrator agreed readily to this postponement, but the Chief of Police rather unwisely chose to make a lengthy speech, the bulk of which amounted to another attempt to show that the police had not been to blame for the March riots.

In April the police, through the Administrator, asked the Committee of Control for the expulsion of some twenty prominent personalities on the grounds that a political cleansing of the zone was necessary. This list included a British subject, Miss Margaret Pope. The Committee of Control decided to take no action until the report of the military attachés' enquiry had been considered. In fact, it was known that the Spanish representative was unlikely to agree to an expulsion order against Abdel Khalek Torres who had so recently been welcomed back into the Spanish Zone, or, indeed, in all probability, against other Nationalists; and other members were known to feel in April that any number of expulsions of this kind might do more harm than good.

Communism

The Spaniard, Angel Martin, to whom reference was made in paragraph 5 of the last quarterly report, completed his prison sentence of forty days and was expelled from the zone. On arrival in Spain he was apparently met by the police. The Spanish Consul-General has been reminded unofficially that, when the Committee of Control decided on this expulsion last year, he gave an undertaking that Martin would not be persecuted for his past political or military offences.

Visit of the United States Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and African Affairs in the State Department

Mr. Byroade spent a few hours in Tangier at the end of April at the start of his tour of North Africa and the Middle East. His passage through the zone was almost too quick to be noticeable.

Transfer of French Consul-General

For months now it has been known that M. de Panafieu was to be transferred and replaced by M. Binoche, now in the Quai d'Orsay. M. de Panafieu was not pleased at the prospect of his new job (concerned with Arab refugee work in the Middle East) and was probably pleased that the proposal for negotiations in Tangier to reform the statute gave him a chance to postpone it. It seemed, at the end of June, however, that he was not to escape his fate. There has been more than one well-founded report that he is not popular with his superiors at Rabat.

Press

The Nationalist paper *Minbar es Shab*, as was to be expected, produced during April a series of violent statements abusing the police for their actions during and after the riots on 30th March, demands for justice, and protests on various smaller points such as the suggestion in one or two French papers that Europeans should arm themselves for defence. The paper, however, expressed satisfaction at the action of the Committee of Control in establishing the military attachés' enquiry, and providing compensation for Moorish victims, and also praised the Mixed Tribunal following the trial of the rioters, stating that both bodies had acted with impartiality. The chance was taken to demand a reorganisation of the police on " democratic instead of Nationalist and colonial lines " and to ask, somewhat maliciously, as the offenders were well-known individuals acting in defence of their own property, if any enquiry would be conducted into the alleged shooting by private individuals. This point, however, was not pursued.

More generally, this paper carried one article stating that they were in favour of N.A.T.O. but resented the inclusion of Morocco in N.A.T.O. plans at Lisbon where Morocco was not represented, and a second regretting that England, having led the fight for liberty against colonialism in two wars and in Asia, was no longer doing so. The first article was aimed at France, the second provoked by the United Kingdom attitude on the Tunisian appeal to the United Nations. The second article concluded by asking England to revert to her former " noble " position and let her friend France know that the colonial era was over.

The local French and Spanish newspapers reported the riots and subsequent happenings more or less objectively, though minor differences in reporting indicated which nation was reporting; *e.g.*, the French paper referred to the Temsamami brothers as old companions of Abdel Krim, a point omitted by the Spanish paper. The French *Dépêche* devoted much space to M. Pinay's efforts to save the franc and almost as much to events in Tunisia, and M. Mossadegh received his usual tribute of publicity; but Egyptian affairs at the end of the quarter were not quite so prominent in the local press.

The Spanish newspaper's propaganda in April in praise of Señor Artajo's mission to the Middle East was so fulsome as to be laughable.

JM 1011/2 No. 19

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1951

Mr. Consul-General Muntz to Mr. Eden. (Received 11th August)

(No. 81) *Tangier,*
29th July, 1952.

Political

Nationalism.—The opening move in a year of political activity amongst Moroccan Nationalists was the crisis in relations between His Majesty the Sultan and the French Resident General in Rabat. Whatever the outcome of this tension may be, there can be no doubt that it served last year to bring together the various, and hitherto often conflicting, strands of Nationalist sentiment. As the authorities in the French Zone restricted Nationalist activities, so they tended to centre on Tangier. Thus by midsummer they had either their headquarters or their leaders resident in Tangier, where on the 9th April they had signed an agreement establishing a Moroccan National Front. At the instigation of the Committee of Control some of the leaders of the Nationalist movement were brought to justice in the Mixed Tribunal on charges concerning activities against the established order in the neighbouring zones. The defence, however, secured an indefinite postponement of the case on technical grounds.

2. After thus blowing new life into a now seemingly united Nationalist movement, two of the leaders, in the second half of the year, turned their activities away from Morocco itself in order to seek support for their cause elsewhere. Thus, while Abdel-Khalek Torres of the Moroccan Reform Party and Mohammed Mekki Nasiri of the Moroccan Unity Party kept the propaganda going in Tangier itself, Allal el Fassi of the Istiqlal Party, and Mohammed Hassan el Wazzani of the Moroccan Independence Party travelled East to Cairo and other Middle Eastern countries, and secured an assurance that the Moroccan case would be put to the United Nations by Egypt and the other Arab League countries. This the latter duly did, but without success as they failed to get the Moroccan question onto the agenda.

3. As the year closed, it seemed that, while Moroccan hostility to the French remained implacable, their attitude to the Spaniards had undergone a change; it was generally understood that an Hispano-Moroccan rapprochement was in prospect and that AbdelKhalek Torres might ere long move into the Spanish Zone.

4. Much feeling was aroused in Nationalist circles early in November, when the International Police, acting on the orders of the President of the Committee of Control, expelled the Tunisian Nationalist, Habib Bourghiba, from the zone. Although the President secured a majority vote from his colleagues, he was at pains to do so without consulting the American, British or Spanish members, who duly protested at such irregular procedure.

5. The Committee of Control, maintaining its course of preventing the use of Tangier for the instigation of trouble both there and elsewhere, also decided that they would like to keep Allal el Fassi out of Tangier. As, however, a Moor can only be expelled with the concurrence of the Sultan, which he would hardly give in such a case, there was some doubt, despite the confidence of the French, as to whether the committee would be able to keep him out of the zone should he wish to return.

Administration

6. On Jonkheer H. van Vredenburch's resignation in August, he was replaced as Administrator by M. José Luiz Archer, previously Portuguese Consul-General in Tangier.

7. Under the direction of another Belgian, M. Troeder who succeeded M. Gracco, the budget of the zone continued to be balanced. A team of British chartered accountants came to Tangier, under the authority of the Committee of Control, to audit the accounts of the Administration. They found considerable scope for improvement. Their report was carefully worded but left the impression that if it had been about a large company in the United Kingdom, further investigations would have been required.

8. The Ordinary Budget expenditure for 1952 was approved before the end of the year at a figure of 1,268,660,000 francs, against revenue at 1,557,855,000 francs. The Extraordinary Budget had not been approved by the end of the year.

9. Having secured the passage of a number of modern labour regulations, in spite of considerable opposition in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. R. Graves, who had been appointed as Labour Adviser to the Administration, left Tangier on the the expiry of his contract, and was replaced by a Frenchman.

Communism

10. At the outset of 1951 there was very little Communist activity in Tangier, the two main parties, the Moroccan Communist Party and the Spanish Communist Party having both been quiescent for some time. Of the two, the former was the more prominent and better controlled, being organised in three cells which held regular meetings and were in touch with the Central Committee in Casablanca by means of reports sent and received; while the Spanish Communist Party was inactive.

11. A change took place, however, early in 1951, mainly due to the influence of a Spaniard called Angel Martin Garci Martin, who, during the Spanish Civil War, had been a lieutenant in the Tangier Gendarmerie. Towards the end of 1950 this man obtained employment in Tangier as a builder's foreman and apparently took over control of the Spanish Communist Party. During the first four months of 1951 he became very active in spreading Communist propaganda, some of which he is believed to have obtained from the Russian Consulate in Algiers and some from the French Zone. He is also thought to have been behind some workers' manifestations which took place in March 1951. It was when he started to arrange for the throwing of tracts at public gatherings, such as bull fights, that the police were roused to action. At the beginning of May they searched the houses of several of the known Communists of both parties and confiscated much of the literature found there, and as a result of this Martin and ten others were brought up before the Mixed Tribunal on the 6th June. Most of them were acquitted but Martin himself was fined and sentenced to three months' gaol *avec sursis* and one or two of the others received small fines. A salutory impression was, however, created and this was enhanced by the fact that expulsion orders were shortly afterwards issued against Martin himself and two members of the Moroccan Communist Party, one a Frenchman, living in Tangier, and the other a Portuguese recently arrived from Port Lyautey. As a result of this, Communist activity during the latter part of the year declined considerably and in the case of the Spanish Communist Party fell almost to zero. Martin stayed on in Tangier (sometimes in gaol for not obeying the expulsion order, and sometimes in *résidence surveillée*) being unwilling to go to Spanish territory and being unable to obtain a visa for anywhere else, but there is no evidence to suggest that he continued his propaganda work.

12. Meanwhile pressure was brought on Raymond Tregon, head of one of the cells mentioned above and "Chef du Bureau" in the Municipal Public Works of the International Administration, to resign his job and move to the French Zone: the French Consul-General has undertaken that he will not return. On the other hand, Marius Favier, the Frenchman who was actually expelled in June, was back again by October. It was noticeable that the French authorities were far more tolerant towards French Communists than the Spanish were towards the Spanish.

Trade and the Port

13. The figures of imports and exports for 1951 were:—

	Kilog.	*Francs*
Imports ...	260,749,930	11,753,548,000
Exports ...	15,721,354	674,859,000

14. The imports figures were the best ever and the United Kingdom contributed with 1,101,204,000 francs. The United States headed the list with 2,430,554,000 francs followed by Spain, France, B.L.E.U. and the United Kingdom.

15. Exports were about half of 1950 (1,228,500,000). The best customers were "The British Mediterranean Possessions" with 140,073,000 francs (of which 77,337,000 francs worth of fresh eggs). The next best is B.L.E.U. with 136,232,000 (of which 102,887,000 francs worth of vegetable fibre) followed by the United States with 133,052,000 francs (of which 97,348,000 francs worth of goat and sheep skins).

The Press

16. The only development of consequence in the press of Tangier was the change of loyalty of its only Arabic newspaper. *Minbar es Shab*, which had hitherto run with French backing, was brought over by its owner, Mohammed Mekki Nasiri (see paragraph 2 above), when he himself swung round to a more vigorous nationalism. Henceforth it maintained a steadily nationalistic line. In November, *La Voix du Maroc* of which nothing had been heard since its suppression for six months in 1947, was revived as a French-language weekly by the owner of *Minbar es Shab*.

JM 1013/8 No. 20

TANGIER: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

Quarter ended 30th September, 1952

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. *(Received 22nd October)*

(No. 96. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *15th October, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended 30th September, 1952.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure in No. 20

General

After the excitements of the rioting of the previous quarter, life in Tangier, except for the members of the Committee of Control, settled down in the past three months to its normal peaceful ways. As the heat of the summer months passed, additional zest was given to the town's return to its autumnal business by the prospect of an official visit from the United States Navy (Admiral Cassady), which, it was hoped would bring in some three quarters of a million dollars worth of sailors of the United States Sixth Fleet.

The consulates-general were actively engaged throughout the quarter on negotiations for the revision of the Statute. These negotiations were conducted in a 19th century atmosphere of courtesy and intrigue, without the heat generated by the accusations freely made between some of the same representatives in discussions of the riots during the previous quarter, though once or twice there was a tendency to descend to the more modern use of words. The public, though probably expecting far more revolutionary changes than the negotiations will have produced, have shown only a perfunctory, and perhaps fatalistic interest in the

items of gossip about them which have circulated from time to time. Believing that the international status of Tangier is safe, they have felt able to interest themselves in the judicial reforms more likely to affect them personally, whether as individuals or as businessmen.

Political Parties

The quarter has seen only negligible political activity amongst the Moroccans of Tangier. Interest has centred on the prospects of Moroccan nationalism at the next meeting of the United Nations Organisation, and, more immediately, on the ability or otherwise of certain Nationalist leaders to attend the debates, or to secure the backing of other countries for the Moroccan cause.

Allal el Fassi, leader of the Istiqlal Party, for example, is alleged to have secured support from the Scandinavian Foreign Ministers (especially Norway) and is now in South America, where the votes of Brazil, Chile and Mexico are allegedly to be pro-Moroccan, on his way to New York.

Mohammed Mekki Nasiri, of the Moroccan Unity Party, has done all he can to raise funds so as to be able to enjoy the publicity of being present in New York. The response to his appeal to his supporters in Tangier was not encouraging.

Abdelkhalek Torres, of the Reform Party, his honeymoon with Spain in the Spanish Zone now almost at an end, is thinking of returning to live in Tangier. He has come to realise that the Spaniards are unlikely to make concessions of substance to the Nationalists.

Administration and Committee of Control

The tension between the Administrator and Committee of Control decreased during the past quarter, not because M. Archer became any more popular, but because the Spanish and French Consuls-General found it expedient to relax their pressure against him. He and the Assistant Administrator for Finance were, however, called before the Committee of Control during August at the instance of the French Consul-General who, with some rather inexpert help from his Spanish colleague, made an attempt to discredit the Administration's financial management. He started his attack well but lost his way in his brief and, no other members of the committee having been forewarned of what was to come, the Assistant Administrator for Finance escaped with no more than a fright.

At the end of the quarter the atmosphere was, therefore, one of suspended hostility with a feeling that M. Archer was likely to achieve his ambition of staying here, and he took a short holiday in Portugal.

Proposals to Reform the Statute

Instructions to various members of the Committee of Control having arrived at the end of June and beginning of July, these negotiations occupied the time of the Committee of Control to the exclusion of practically everything else. During July a fair measure of agreement was reached on the political issues and at the beginning of August a committee of legal experts started work on the judicial reforms. The dilatory tactics of the Spanish legal representative who had no wish whatever to see reforms of the tribunal come into force, and clearly thought that negotiations could be extended for months, were met by what to him must have been the disconcerting energy of the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Italian representatives, who wished to work in the afternoon as well as morning every day. The pretence that the legal experts were to be guided solely by judicial and never by political considerations was gallantly maintained and deceived no-one. Their report and proposed dahir to bring the reforms into effect was submitted to the Committee of Control in September with sundry discreet blanks which will have to be filled in by the Committee of Control after frankly political discussions.

In the course of the negotiations during the last quarter, the line up of the various Powers changed somewhat. The Belgian Consul-General, having been let down by the French Consul-General, tended to join the United Kingdom-Netherlands alliance. The Italian, though very anxious to keep in with all, certainly gave the faithful support he had promised to the United Kingdom and Netherlands in the judicial negotiations The new Portuguese Consul-General, though noisier and more aggressive than his predecessor, did not really try to join any group, nor would he have been willingly accepted, and the United States Minister continued indifferent. The Franco-Spanish alliance in these negotiations became, at one time during the quarter, so blatant that a very gentle indirect reminder that a similar alliance had existed in this part of the world nearly 150 years ago (Cape Trafalgar is but a few miles away) seemed to find its mark satisfactorily.

Though there were some rather complicated judicial points still to be settled and some difficulties about individual functionaries, it seemed, at the end of the quarter, that agreement on the principles of the reform—both of the Statute and of the judicial system—was at last in sight. At this point, however, the Spanish and French Consul-Generals were called simultaneously to their respective capitals, leaving Her Majesty's Consul-General again acting as President of the Committee of Control. In their absence negotiations here were in suspense.

Police

In the absence of any final agreement as to how the police were to be re-formed, there was no change in their organisation and no further mention of the political expulsions for which they had asked.

Communism

The Spaniard, Angel Martin, who was stated in the last report to have been met and taken on his arrival in Spain by the police, was released in Madrid in July. The Spanish Consul-General seems, therefore, to have kept to his undertaking that this man would not be persecuted for his past political offences. This may also conceivably be another straw in the wind indicating that the Spanish Government are becoming rather less severe on their political enemies.

Visit of United States Ships

A number of United States warships, including two heavy cruisers, a carrier, a submarine and a number of destroyers, visited Tangier officially from 28th September in the process of a fleet change-over and Her Majesty's Consul-General, having been left acting as President of the Committee of Control, was obliged to take part in the consequent ceremonies. It must be years since so much naval might has been seen in the bay of Tangier and it must be assumed that the population was more impressed by this display of American strength than were certain Europeans by the irregularity of the saluting. Some discontent is, however, reported to have been caused by the fact that the sailors on the first batch of ships were on their way home and were consequently saving their money.

One interesting incident occurred when the local Nationalists invited a number of officers and sailors to lunch and tea parties, and the French authorities in Rabat are said to have objected and asked the Americans to refuse the invitation. The Americans apparently returned a rather dusty answer to the French, and went to the parties, but with members of the United States Legation who were under orders to leave the moment there was any political talk.

Transfer of French Consul-General

At the end of the quarter it looked as if M. de Panafieu might after all escape the transfer to Beirut and following his visit to Paris, he having rather more success in meeting the pressure against him from Rabat. His future, however, was still very much in the realm of rumour and speculation.

Transfer of Portuguese Consul-General

The amiable but stupid M. Pinto Ferreira was removed with startling suddeness at the beginning of August and replaced by a noisier and less pleasant character from Lisbon. It is well known that this move resulted from the intrigues of M. Archer against his colleague and the general opinion of M. Archer sank accordingly.

Press

A quarrel between Abdesalam Temsamani and Mohd. Mekki Nasiri, arising out of the riots of 30th March, led to the closing down of the only Arabic-language Nationalist paper published in Tangier, *Minbar Eshaab* at the end of the previous quarter. A fortnight later, on 5th July, it re-appeared under the direction of Mohd. Mekki Nasiri under the name *Eshaab* as the organ of the Unity and Independence Party, and with a moderate approach to the topics of the day such as the Hague Court case between the United States and France, Tunisia, Egypt and Persia.

The negotiations for reform of the statute and for judicial reforms aroused surprisingly little interest. This may have been due to the inability of the press to secure much reliable material for comment on the subject, combined with a wish not to make stupid or irrelevant remarks and above all to avoid offending any member of the Committee of Control who might feel inclined to seek the suppression of any newspaper. The arrival of the legal experts led the press to believe they were on safer ground and all manner of suggestions were put forward for the visitors' enlightenment. In general, however, the press whether French, Spanish, or Arabic steered a careful and uninspired course through an interesting quarter.

JM 1015/264

No. 21

REVISION OF THE TANGIER STATUTE

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. *(Received 13th December)*

(No. 113. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *10th December, 1952.*

With reference to your despatches Nos. 56 and 64 of 24th June and 19th August, I have the honour to inform you that in the course of negotiations it has been possible in the agreements at which the Committee of Control has arrived, to secure the inclusion of almost all the points mentioned in the instructions in your despatches under reference. These agreements were signed on 10th November, though certain formalities could not be completed until this week. I have now the honour, therefore, to transmit herewith:—

(*a*) A copy of the Protocol(1) modifying the 1945 Anglo-French Agreement. Eight copies of this protocol, one for each member of the Committee of Control, were signed at the meeting of the committee on 10th November;

(*b*) A copy of the minutes(1) of the meeting on 10th November certified correct by Señor Cristóbal del Castillo y Campos, president of the committee. Attached to this paper are the new regulations for the general and special police, which were signed by all members of the committee, and a draft dahir to effect judicial reforms which was initialled by all members of the committee;

(*c*) A copy of the Convention(1) on Judicial Reforms signed in four copies by the Consuls-General of France, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom.

I understand that the necessary documents have already been transmitted by the French Consul-General both to Rabat for submission to His Majesty The Sultan and the enactment of the necessary dahirs, and to Paris for action by the French Government to secure the adhesion of the other Governments concerned to the Judicial Convention.

Looking back on these negotiations between the eight Powers represented on the Committee of Control, on their origin in the riots of 30th March and the Spanish denunciation in April of the 1945 Anglo-French Agreement, and on their result in the agreements signed on 10th November, the recollection which comes most forcibly to my mind is the fact that at no moment in this long process was the international status of the zone in question. It has clearly been regarded as axiomatic by all my colleagues that the zone not only must be internationally administered for the duration of the agreements (*i.e.*, five years), but should be so administered thereafter. It is within this framework that each of the Powers has tried to improve its position.

It may possibly be useful now to make some attempt to assess the relative positions of the various countries concerned, in comparison with their positions under the 1945 and 1928 Agreements; the policies of the various Governments or their representatives as they appeared here; and possible future developments. I enclose a memorandum covering the first two of these points. You will see from it that Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom are the countries which, in my opinion, have gained most in influence from the new agreements. French influence is slightly reduced, but not to the extent of endangering the still dominating position which that country has had here for some time past. For the rest, the Netherlands and Portugal may be said to have gained very slightly, Belgium to have lost ground (unless the next administrator is a Belgian), while the United States remains locally much as before.

As Spain is the Power at whose instigation the negotiations have taken place, it is of interest to note that though Italy and the United Kingdom regain the positions held under the 1928 Agreement—the latter indeed has gone a little further—Spain has not done so. I believe that the Spanish representatives are satisfied for the moment with the gains they have achieved, and that we may reasonably hope for some Spanish co-operation during the next few years, without which, as I reported in the spring, it is in my opinion useless to expect good government and tranquillity in this zone. It would, however, be idle to expect that the Spanish or French, in their present mood, will not take any chance that may come of increasing their influence. We may therefore expect a quiet war of attrition by both these countries against the rest, and —as I have no great confidence in the durability of the local Franco-Spanish alliance—more surreptitiously against each other. The outcome must depend to an enormous degree on the personalities of my colleagues and their successors, and of those appointed to the Administration by the various Governments concerned.

It must also be admitted that this situation, which as you will have noticed from paragraph 3 above shows more gains than losses, and in particular the reform of the judiciary, has caused an increase in officials for political rather than administrative reasons and therefore has been achieved at a cost to the zone which is unnecessarily high. As, on present prospects, it seems that Tangier's fattest years have probably now passed, this may have repercussions not altogether palatable. Under existing arrangements a deficit will be met first by borrowing from the Banque du Maroc which would give another lever to French control of affairs. We can only hope that the new British Assistant Administrator for Finance will be able to guard against this.

Although I believe therefore that the agreements just made should lead to better administration in the near future, the degree of such improvement, and for that matter the duration of the agreements themselves, must depend on developments in Morocco as a whole. It has become clear to me during the last few months that my Italian colleague expects revision to be necessary not later than five years hence, my Portuguese colleague earlier, my French colleague has said nothing, but his less discreet juniors evidently expect disconcerting developments, and my very experienced Spanish colleague is uneasy as to the future of Spain and France in Morocco, though he does not seem to expect any fundamentally revolutionary developments in the course of the next five years. It may be true, as is rumoured, that the Nationalist leaders wish for the moment at least to preserve the international régime here. The welter of conflicting Nationalist opinions reduces this point to the merely speculative. Whatever the answer, I should myself be surprised if, when the agreements become due for renewal in five years, it were not necessary to provide for a greater degree of Moorish participation in the administration of the International Zone.

I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris, Rome, The Hague, Brussels, Washington and Lisbon.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

(1) Not printed.

Memorandum

Spain

The Spanish have gained an Assistant Administrator, a respectable but not a controlling position in the police, and the re-establishment of the Mixed Intelligence Bureau with no executive power. They have, on the other hand, lost influence in the judicial organisation and have been obliged to admit that the 1945 Agreement is *de facto* valid. They have, in fact, made considerable progress towards regaining the position they held in 1928, a position which, it must be admitted, could be amply justified by the extent of Spanish interests in the zone; but they have fallen short of this objective. There is some reason to think that there have been differences on policy between Madrid and the Spanish representative here, Señor del Castillo, but the latter is believed to have considerable influence with General Franco as far as Morocco is concerned, and I believe it is very largely due to Señor del Castillo that Spain has not claimed (as has usually happened in the past) that the Tangier Zone is, and should be, a part of the Spanish Zone.

Making allowances for the bargaining positions which, in rather oriental fashion, the Spaniards seem to feel obliged to take up, Señor del Castillo's attitude towards the United Kingdom throughout the negotiations can be described as correct, accommodating and helpful. I believe it would be true to say, despite the rather offensive inference to be drawn from some of the statements I have had to make, that Anglo-Spanish relations as far as this very small territory is concerned have improved rather than the reverse as a result of these negotiations. To judge from the remarks of the High Commissioner in Tetuan, on whom I recently paid a courtesy call, this may even be true to a very small degree for Spanish Morocco also.

France

The French, on paper, have neither gained nor lost a great deal. Though the French Consul-General at the end of the negotiations described himself as "le grand dépouillé," he has in fact lost very little, except some of his influence on the judicial organisation. The French retain the

second-in-command of the Administration, also of both sections of the police; the great majority of the more senior civil servants; their position in the Mendoubia and Legislative Assembly which they can control as long as they can control the Moors, and sole control of the customs, the source of 70 per cent. of the revenue of the zone. By encouraging others to contemplate their gains, M. de Panafieu has skilfully managed to give the impression of making concessions while, in fact, retaining very largely the control he previously had. At the same time, it must be admitted that the French may lose some influence, though not enough to endanger their virtual control of the zone, as the result of the displacement of the Belgian by a British Director of Finance and of the appointment of a "neutral" (probably Netherlands) subject to the position of controller.

There have been marked inconsistencies in French policies as laid down by the French Consul-General, the authorities at Rabat and those at Paris. It certainly seems to me as if the Consul-General tail here has been allowed to wag the Government dog at Paris, though he has not been so successful with that at Rabat. The single constantly visible factor has been an ardent desire on the part of M. de Panafieu and Rabat to come to some arrangement satisfactory to the Spaniards so that their policies towards the Moorish Nationalists may be in harmony. To achieve this Franco-Spanish alliance, the French Consul-General has been willing to sacrifice all others, secure perhaps in the knowledge that what happens to-day in Tangier is unlikely fundamentally to affect relations between the capitals concerned. It is at least permissible, however, to wonder whether the results of their policy can be beneficial to the French position in Morocco, except in the very short term.

United Kingdom

We have obtained, surprisingly enough, a position not only more prominent than that held in 1945, but even a little more than under the 1928 Agreement, in that there is to be a British officer in charge of the Sûrete and we have the right to examine the records of the Mixed Intelligence Bureau. The position of the British subject now holding the post of Receveur has been maintained, but only with difficulty. It will be necessary in the future when the present incumbent leaves and the post may be occupied by another national, to guard carefully against an almost certain French attempt to reduce British influence in this department. I believe our material interests in the zone can be held to justify our position under the revised agreement, though it would be impossible to do so on the basis of population. In fact, there is political justification as long as it is desired to retain the international régime as it has become obvious that the small Powers, Belgium, Holland and Portugal, are unable alone to hold their own against the French and Spaniards. Though British influence in the judicial organisation will not be increased, we have also obtained some fundamental changes in that organisation. A possible Franco-Spanish *bloc* no longer constitutes a majority, and the other changes made should lead to a considerable improvement in the Administration of Justice.

Italy

By gaining an Assistant Administrator and three members and a vice-president of the Assembly, Italy has made a more spectacular advance in influence than any other country. She has recovered in one swoop the position she held in 1928. This has been due very largely to the Neapolitan skill and persistency of her Consul-General here, who has missed no opportunity, however small, despite the obvious irritation of some of his colleagues, of taking another morsel from France and Spain. Though, as a result of his work, he is now unpopular with some members of the Committee of Control, I believe that in the next year or so his and Italian influence here may prove to be useful to British interests.

Netherlands

The only real Netherlands Government interest was the reform of the judicial organisation with which they seem to be well satisfied. More by accident than by design, they have also gained a judge in the Mixed Courts, the right to submit candidates for the post of Controller and the right to share a vice-presidency in the Assembly with Belgium and Portugal. Their influence in the zone in the near future is likely to be very slightly increased, but they do not seem to be very interested at present in taking an active part in the Administration.

Portugal

The Portuguese attempt to take an equal place with Italy has not succeeded. They, like the Netherlands, have gained a judge, the right to submit candidates for the post of Controller and to share a vice-presidency in the Assembly. They have not gained the right to increased representation in the Assembly. In the process of arriving at this position their reputation and popularity has sunk to a low ebb in the Committee of Control.

United States

The United States has gained a vice-presidency in the Legislative Assembly otherwise her position is unchanged. It is unfortunate that, because of her retention of capitulations in the zone and because of the natural rather bitter apathy of the United States Minister, who has had to answer the insinuations of Senator McCarthy before a "Loyalty" enquiry, she has taken almost no part in the recent negotiations. Her standing here has fallen accordingly.

Belgium

Belgium has not lost so much as at one time seemed likely. She has lost to the United Kingdom the post of Assistant Administrator for Finance, and must inevitably in due course lose some of the posts at present held in the general police. In return, she gains only the right to submit candidates for the post of Controller, a shared vice-president of the Assembly (with the Netherlands and Portugal), and the strong hope that the Committee of Control will agree to appoint a Belgian as the next Administrator. In fact, the proportion of Belgian nationals in the Administration and the police was, of course, in no way justified by the size of Belgian interests here, nor by the efficiency of the individuals concerned. It was deplorably noticeable that the policy of the Belgian Government was not dictated by consideration for the good government of the zone, or any other ideal, but rather by an anxiety to preserve the position of individuals. It must be added that the skill of the Belgian Consul-General in carrying out a policy personally disagreeable to him has been such that the reputation of his country has suffered comparatively little damage.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/4

No. 22

LEADING PERSONALITIES AT TANGIER

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. *(Received 13th December)*

(No. 114. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *8th December, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on leading personalities at Tangier for the year 1952.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure in No. 22

Report on the Leading Personalities in the Tangier Zone of Morocco

EUROPEANS

1. Aldegunde, Reverend Father Francisco
Spaniard. Franciscan. Succeeded Father Betanzos as Bishop of Tangier and Spanish Morocco with title of Bishop of Fussala. Pleasant middle-aged man who seems broad-minded and friendly. The able and intelligent Padre Lopez continues as his secretary.

2. Apostoli, Giovanni
Italian judge, appointed in succession to Fernando Malmusi, when the latter was recalled on account of his Fascist tendencies in 1945. Apostoli is not a brilliant jurist nor an outstanding personality, but he appears to enjoy a fair reputation for honesty if not for morals. He is a bachelor.

3. Archer, José Luiz
Succeeded Jonkheer van Vredenburch as Administrator in August 1951.
Was Portuguese consul-general with personal rank of minister in Tangier from 1947 to 1951 when he was appointed Administrator of the International Zone. Had previously served in Vigo, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon. He was president of the Committee of Control in 1949, a position which he filled successfully and impartially. He is energetic and pleased with himself, with a typical Portuguese suavity of manner and a considerable gift for compromise. In the year that has passed since he became Administrator, his dictatorial methods and his evasion of responsibility at the time of the March riots and certain suspect commercial activities have not improved his reputation. As an Administator in fact he is not a great success. Mme. Archer is a pleasant, if rather dull, creature. They have two married children and a daughter of 18.

4. Artous, Louis
French second-in-command of the International Police and virtually in control of it. Was in the resistance movement in France during the war and was imprisoned at Buchenwald. An agreeable and shrewd personality, who effectively presses French interests. It has been rumoured that he a crypto-Communist but no evidence against him is so far forthcoming.

5. Bastianelli, Auguste
Director of French Public Instruction in Tangier and also for the whole of the French Zone with headquarters in Tangier. The institutions he controls cover some 5,000 pupils. Politically he took the line of least resistance through the war. He is an able administrator, but is not well liked by his staff.

6. Catalano, Nicolà
Italian Legal Adviser to the Administration.
Born 1910, obtained doctorate in law at Rome in 1933. Held an academic post at Rome University from 1939, is an "*avocat de l'état*" in Italy, and has held various Government jobs, including those of Italian Government representative on Conciliation Commissions set up under the peace treaty. Was also legal adviser to Italian delegation on Italo-Yugoslav Commission. Is married with one child.
Appointed to his present post in October 1950.

7. Crambes, Dr.
French Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Anciens Combattants. He is generally regarded as being friendly in his attitude towards us, though there has been a report that the French Consul-General regards him as "abruti."

8. De los Campos, Villarejo
Spaniard, born about 1900. Procureur of the Mixed Court, a post which he combines with similar functions in Tetuan. Rarely visits Tangier. Has British wife of Gibraltar origin and is believed to be not unfriendly.

9. Doolittle, Hooker Austin
United States Consul in Tangier for several years before the war. Was appointed consul-general, Tunis, in 1940 and subsequently served in Egypt and Pakistan and on a mission for the United Nations in Indonesia. Retired from the Foreign Service in 1951 and returned to Tangier where he has settled down. Is one of the American members of the Legislative Assembly. Doolittle has a good knowledge of Morocco and a forceful personality which sometimes brings him into conflict with the United States Legation. He is pro-Nationalist, and inclined to be indiscreet in his friendships, but this is largely due to his avowed dislike of convention and protocol. Married to a White Russian.

10. Ellis, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., C.M.G., O.B.E.
British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Retiring from the R.A.M.C., Colonel Ellis originally came to Tangier over twenty years ago as medical practitioner. He later founded the prosperous firm of Ellis and Co. During the war he was chief of the Press Office and received the C.M.G. in recognition of his work. He is an able and hard-headed business man, with a finger in many Tangier pies and extremely well informed on Tangier subjects, but his views are apt to be coloured by his own personal interest. He is correspondent of the London *Times*. One of the most forceful personalities in Tangier, though he is beginning to feel his age.

11. González Gordon, Pedro (Marqués de Torresoto)
Spaniard, born about 1886. Head of the sherry firm of González Byass. Very wealthy. Very pro-British, speaks English perfectly, related to the Gilbey family. Monarchist and anti-Falange. Has a large family.

12. Hubert, Paul
Appointed *Contrôleur* of the Mendoubia in 1950. Is also *Commissaire du Gouvernement* at the Mendoub's Tribunal. Is rarely met outside French circles, but is believed to co-operate closely with the local French in suppressing Nationalist activities.

13. Humbert, René
French member of the Legislative Assembly, and Director of the Port Concession.

14. Jorro y Andreu, José
Spanish vice-president of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce. Representative in Morocco of Juan March. Has large business interests in Tangier and owns a considerable amount of property.

15. Katzaros, John
Of Greek origin, has been naturalised as a British subject. The Katzaros family have been connected with the British Legation and subsequently with the Consulate-general for the past sixty years, and were generally thought in Tangier to be British. They talk English at home. John Katzaros is secretary to the Legislative Assembly.

16. Legrand, Lieut.-Colonel V. J.
Chief of Police. The colonel is a nominee of the Belgian Government and was accompanied by nine other Belgian police officials. He gets on well with the French, who have made much of him. He does not appear to be as alive as his subordinates are to an undercurrent of French hostility to the Belgians. He is very much influenced by his French second-in-command, Commandant Artous. The riots of last March confirmed a widespread impression that although pleasant he is inefficient.

17. Lemass, Edwin
British Judge in the Mixed Tribunal. Appointed 1st November, 1949.
Born 1890. Called to the bar in Dublin 1912. Served in the army from 1914–18. From 1920–49 was employed in the Egyptian judicial service where he became a Judge of the Mixed Court in 1932. He is good-natured and easy going with plenty of common sense, but not a particularly incisive or forceful character.

18. Marchegiano, Giuseppi
Judicial adviser to the Italian Consulate-General. Is not a man of strong character and is entirely dominated by an energetic, ambitious wife whose political loyalties are of the most ephemeral nature but are none the less vehement while they last. Has two unmarried daughters with social ambitions.

19. Mèlenotte, Raoul
Chief engineer of the Public Works of the Zone. Pleasant to talk to, hard working and efficient but is said to take bribes.

20. Merry, Diaz Manuel
Spanish judge of the Mixed Court, born about 1886. An able lawyer, but given to deciding cases on grounds other than the rule of law. Acts as President of Appeal Court.

21. Parladé, Jaime
Spaniard, born about 1900. Educated at Stonyhurst. Originally an officer in the artillery and later in the International Gendarmerie of the International Zone. Remained in Tangier until just before end of civil war, in which he participated on the side of General Franco. Is now managing director of the local telephone company, which he runs efficiently; also engages in miscellaneous commercial transactions of a speculative kind. Affects to be pro-British, but was friendly to Axis during the war and is not to be trusted.

22. Rodière, Yves
French procureur of the Mixed Court, born in 1885. Member of French judicial service. Able and very hard-working. Has spent most of his career in Morocco. Reputed to be corruptible.

23. Tovar, Duke of, and Marqués de Gauna
Son of a former Spanish Ambassador in Rome. Lived in Tangier unmolested throughout the war in spite of his Royalist sympathies. As a grandee of Spain he has recently taken a public stand as the principal Royalist in Tangier. His royalism is probably a matter of ideology and loyalty, and, prodigiously fat as he is, he does not give the impression of a man of action. Very rich.

24. Troeder, Sylvain
Assistant Administrator for Finance. Belgian, born Brussels 1914, has Antwerp and London University degrees in economics. Worked for Belgian Government in London, 1943–44. Director of Industrial Supplies at Belgian Ministry of Economics, 1944–47. Has been a member of the Belgian delegation to O.E.E.C. In private business since 1947.
Appointed to his present post in May 1951 in the absence of any other candidate. Is intelligent, perhaps too intelligent for local officialdom and the detail work he appears to neglect. Is frequently in trouble with the French, particularly for transactions which are on the margin of the permissible. Unmarried, plays the piano well, kept a pet snake which caused the raising of parochial eyebrows. Is a friend and disciple of M. van Zeeland.

25. Vallet, Jean
Born 23rd May, 1885. Appointed by Vichy as French judge at Tribunal Mixte. In 1940 was head of local "Action Française en Égypte" and was at that time described as one of the most dangerous Frenchmen in Egypt. Stated on all sides to be anti-British and to have been 100 per cent. collaborationist. Is nevertheless reported to be a reasonably good judge.

26. Vermeil, Edmond
Born Peone 5th October, 1900. Entered the "controlleur civil" services and was posted to Rabat from 1939–43. After two years in the army he returned to Rabat in 1945 as Director of Information at the Residency General. Was at one time pro-Vichy, but subsequently took part in the Italian campaign against the Germans. Is efficient and agreeable.

27. Wauters, Alfred
Born 1912. Belgian judge of the Mixed Court appointed to replace M. de Foy. Worked with Belgian Government in United Kingdom from 1943. Was Premier Substitut du Procureur du Roi up to date of his appointment to Tangier. Has lately married an English wife. Is pleasant and useful, but not a forceful character.

JEWS

1. Abensur, Aaron
British subject, born about 1895. Owns, with his brother Moses (Maurice), the local banking-house of Moses Pariente, established in 1844, with which this

consulate-general and the former British Legation have banked for at least sixty years. Father naturalised in 1896 by special Act of Parliament on account of the family's long services to the Crown. Of undoubted loyalty, he is always ready to help Her Majesty's Consulate-General and is a very sound and reliable banker.

2. Abensur, Maurice Moses
Younger brother of No. 1 and partner in the firm of Moses Pariente. Spent the war years with his family in the United States and as a result his wife and sons at any rate have become somewhat Americanised.

3. Alster, Jacob
Banker. Polish born, 30th December, 1901. Has a very bad reputation but is generally regarded as most able business man in Tangier. Has now become a considerable property owner. Does not entertain and appears to have no social life outside banking circles.

4. Bendrao Ruah, Isaac
Born Tangier, 26th December, 1900. Said to be richest man in Tangier, very friendly with the more influential section of the Spanish colony and claims to be a close personal friend of General Varela.

5. Hassan, Joseph
Portuguese subject, born about 1880. Very rich. Head of the Hassan family, who own the Salvador Hassan Bank. Bank's Tetuan agency acted as Franco's bankers in the civil war, other banks in the Spanish Zone being either foreign and non-interventionist or else controlled by Republican Madrid.

6. Pinto, Jack
Partner in the firm of Toledano Pinto. Wife is an American. His daughter is married to Maurice Abensur's son. Shrewd business man with a pleasing personality; is particularly popular with the Americans.

MOSLEMS

1. Abderrahman Anegay
Secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier and takes charge of the party's activities during Allal el Fassi's absence. Intelligent, with an excellent command of French. One of the more reasonable of the Moroccan Nationalists.

2. Si Ahmed ben Hajj Majammad Tazi
The Sultan's representative or Mendoub. Born in 1901. Fought on Abdelkrim's side in the Riff campaign, 1926. Appointed Governor of Tangier prison, 1928. Later held post of Second Khalifa to his father the late Mendoub until both were expelled in 1941. While in Rabat was Directeur de Ravitaillement. Returned with Mendoub on 11th October, 1945. More or less ran the Mendoub until latter's death in February 1948, since when he has been acting in his place. Si Ahmed Tazi is intelligent, speaks good French and plays the French game assiduously. He has inherited a large fortune from his father and is almost certainly not above grinding the faces of the faithful. For two years after his father's death the Sultan refused to appoint him Mendoub in spite of pressure from the French and he continued to do the work of the post as First Khalifa. His appointment in February 1950 caused him great pleasure. His outlook is very conservative like that of most rich Moors, but he is shrewd and hard-working and probably as good a man as could be found for the post.

3. Si Mohammed ben Abderrahman Saidi
The Mendoub's Acting First Khalifa. Born about 1896. Native of Tangier. Son-in-law of Si Kaddor ben Ghabrit, the Sultan's "chef du protocole" in Paris. Has held minor posts at Mogador, Meknes and Rabat. Appointed to present position on 11th October, 1945. Modest, unassuming and friendly.

4. Si Mohammed Guennoun
Mendoub's Third Khalifa, born about 1908 in Fez but lived mostly in Tangier. Was Cadi's Khalifa before 1939, later notary. Has better reputation than Nos. 1 and 2. Is brother of No. 12.

5. Si Mohammed ben Driss ben Rahmoun
Kadi of Tangier. Born 1876 but does not look his age. Native of Fez. Formerly scribe at court of the Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz. Present at Paris and Madrid conferences on Tangier. Held post of Kadi at Mogador. Appointed to Tangier on re-establishment of International régime. Has bad reputation, reported to insist on bribes before signing documents or giving judgment. Professes to be a friend of England.

6. Moulay Ahmed el-Amrani
Mohtassib of Tangier, appointed 11th October, 1945. Born in 1871. Native of Fez. After learning trade of carpenter, became successively scribe to Mohtassib, Khalifa to Mohtassib and finally Mohtassib (head of the trade guilds).

7. Si Abdessalam Shebaa
Born in 1881. Member of good old Tangier family. Holds post of "Bou Mouarit" (Curateur des Successions vacantes) and is also member of the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Mendoub remained in Tangier during Spanish occupation to help with supply questions. Dependable and friendly.

8. Moulay Ahmed ben Hajj Abdessalem el-Wazzani
Born in 1876. Son of well-known Shereef of Wazzan. Was Pasha of Wazzan, now retired.

9. Sidi Ahmed ben Sidi Mohammed ben Siddiq el-Ghomari
Born in 1901. Chief of the Derkaoua Fraternity, with some 400 followers in Tangier and others in surrounding tribes. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and is anxious to return to Egypt. Clever and untrustworthy, ready to work for highest bidder. A source of worry and fear to the French authorities. Organiser of demonstration involving procession of some 3,000 natives through streets in 1947. In February 1950 he was accused by the Spaniards of organising armed incursions into the Spanish Zone. Rather than hand him over to the Spanish authorities the International Administration instituted an enquiry as a result of which he was arrested and confessed to having arranged the smuggling of arms across the frontier, but claimed that he had acted at the request of the Spanish authorities. It seems likely that in fact he was the victim of *agents provocateurs*. He was condemned to three and a half years' imprisonment and sent to serve his sentence in the French Zone where it is thought likely that the penalty will eventually be commuted by the Sultan to one of *résidence forcée*.

10. Si Abderrahman Menebhi
Son of the late Sir Mehdi-el-Menebhi, G.C.M.G., and brother-in-law of the Pasha of Marrakesh. El Glaoui. Enjoys a certain prestige as the son of his father, but not very reliable or of strong character. Has recently come under the influence of the Nationalists who use his house as a meeting place. As a result he was summoned before the Mixed Court in June 1951, with other Nationalists, and questioned on the score of alleged illegal political activities.

11. Sidi Mohammed al-Mekki Nasiri
Born about 1907, formerly resident in Tetuan. Founder and leader of Moroccan Unity Party, editor of party's newspapers (*Al-Wahdah al-Maghribia*, suppressed by Spanish authorities, Tetuan; *La Voix du Maroc*, in 1947 by Committee of Control, Tangier). Founder and director of Moulay al-Mahdi Institute, Tetuan, with branch in Tangier. Studied in Cairo 1927–31 and revisited Egypt 1937–38 (where he still has good contacts) to found Beit-al-Maghrib. Has the reputation of being more venal than the other Nationalist leaders. In 1950 he started a new paper, *Minbar al Sha'ab*, which was subsidised by the French authorities, and tried to start a new political party in the French Zone to work for Franco-Moroccan co-operation. In this he was unsuccessful, and at the time of the dispute between the Sultan and the Resident General, he burned his boats with the French and returned to Tangier, where he joined the other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front. (See under No. 15.)

12. Si Abdullah Guennoun
Born about 1909. Taught in Franco-Arab school, left in order to start a "free" (*i.e.*, not officially controlled) school 1937. New school built by public subscription and opened 1947. French and Spaniards have both sought his allegiance, but he is reputed to be non-political. In any case, the French are much less suspicious of his activities than they are of Nasiri's.

13. Si Ahmed Erkaina
Born about 1907. Owns large bakery. Probably most intelligent and outspoken of six Moorish members of Legislative Assembly. Appointed Nadir del Habus on the death of his brother Mohamed.

14. Abd-el-Khalek Torres
Leader of the (Spanish Zone) Nationalist "Reform" Party. At present exiled in Tangier. He joined the other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front in April 1951 (see under No. 15). Resisted an attempt by the authorities of the Spanish Zone to persuade him to return to Tetuan and work with them. Is believed to have more political sense than the other Nationalist leaders here. On the other hand it is said that he is not a good Moslem and this does him harm with his stricter co-religionists.

15. Si Allal el-Fassi
Leader of the (French Zone) Independence Party (*Hizb el Istiqlal*). An educated man who, like most of his fellow Nationalists, has so far shown more gift for speaking and writing than for political organisation, el Fassi, who had been living quietly in Tangier directing his paper, *Al Ala'am*, came into prominence with his party in 1951 in connexion with the crisis in the relations between the Sultan and the authorities of the French Protectorate, when, Nationalist reactions in the French Zone having been repressed, the initiative passed to the leaders in Tangier. Joined with the leaders of the Reform, Democratic Independence and Moroccan Unity parties to form a National Front in April 1951. Was summoned to the Mixed Court for questioning in connexion with alleged illegal activities. The examination hung fire during the summer and he left on a visit to Egypt in August.

16. Allal ben Abou
Spanish subject and at one time proposed for the post of Grand Vizier in Spanish Morocco. Is a very rich proprietor and is regarded as the chief of the pro-Spanish Moors.

17. Ahmed Said
The Tangier representative of the Khalifa. Administers the Khalifa's property and business interests in the International Zone.

18. Ahmed ben Suda
Representative in Tangier of the Democratic Independence Party, and signed the National Front pact in April 1951 on behalf of his leader, Mohammed Hassan el Wazzani. Went to Egypt with the latter in August 1951. Is a Nationalist of many years' standing.

19. Abdelkader ben Omar Barrada
One of the richest merchants in Tangier. Native of Fez. Was blacklisted during the war, but always kept up friendly relations with the French Consulate by whom he appears to be treated with considerable respect, in spite of the fact that he has acquired Spanish nationality.

JM 1902/1 No. 23

TANGIER : HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Eden. (*Received 22nd September*)

(No. 94. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *16th September, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions at Tangier for the year 1952.

I have, &c.
T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure in No. 23

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Belgium

M. de Radiguès de Chennevière (arrived February 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

*M. de Radiguès was counsellor in Paris at the outbreak of war and subsequently passed some time in a concentration camp. He is industrious and painstaking and enjoys preparing memoranda for the Committee of Control. As he is also able, if a little too subtle at times, he is a very useful colleague. He has a pleasant if slightly malicious sense of humour. Both he and his wife, by whom he has five children, are socially minded and most friendly and pleasant colleagues. They both speak good English. M. de Radiguès has other grown-up children in Belgium by his first wife. (Written in 1947.)

It is rumoured that he may retire here.

France

M. François de Panafieu (arrived March 1950), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. de Panafieu is 49 years old. He joined the French Diplomatic Service in 1929 and served for a time in the secretariat of the League of Nations. When France collapsed in 1940 he was in the French Embassy in Washington. After hesitating for a considerable time, he eventually joined the Free French Forces, serving on the staff in North Africa. Since the war he has been counsellor at Copenhagen, consul-general at Hamburg and Directeur des Accords Techniques at the Quai d'Orsay. He is clever, hard-working and quick but unreliable. His manners are impressive, almost old world at times, but a certain conceit about his abilities, his position and possibly appearance, makes him better able to appreciate his own rather than others' sense of humour. It would be idle to pretend that he is universally popular here, but he is pleasant to meet as a colleague, though as far as work is concerned he needs watching closely. He is a man of the world with varied interests. He and his wife, who is quiet, intelligent and pleasant—though she has caused irritation to those she considers her inferiors—have considerable private means and entertain well. Both speak English. They have seven children of whom one was smitten with infantile paralysis in July, but is reported to be recovering. It was announced in August that he is to be appointed French delegate to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency at Beirut, with the rank of ambassador.

Italy

M. Macchi di Cellere (arrived February 1952), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. di Cellere, aged about 46, graduated in law in 1926 and joined the Italian Diplomatic Service in 1928. He served at The Hague on the Disarmament Commission at Geneva, as secretary at Addis Ababa, and in the consulates at Menton and Colombo. During the war he was in Rome where, according to his own statements, he was not very prominent as he was never an enthusiastic Fascist. In 1946 he went as counsellor to Athens and after a short time in Belgrade returned to Rome in 1949 where he was in the "Bureau de co-ordination" of the secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He is energetic, quick in the uptake, and appears very anxious to co-operate with the United Kingdom, which is useful as he seems to have a flair for seeing the real motives behind apparently innocent manœuvres. Despite the rather mincing manner of a confirmed bachelor, he has a real sense of humour. He can speak English, but not fluently so, and prefers not to do so.

Netherlands

M. Allard Merens (arrived February 1950), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

M. Merens has spent much of his service in South Africa and India, where he was Netherlands representative at Delhi during the war. From 1945–49 he was minister at Prague. It is said that towards the end of his appointment he had some difficulties with the Czechoslovak authorities. He may be a little rigid, like so many of his countrymen, in dealing with those of whom he disapproves, and cannot be classified as brilliant, but he is most friendly and agreeable and, again like many of his countrymen, thoroughly loyal and co-operative. A daughter is married to a British subject here. Both he and his wife speak English very well and have said that they would like in due course to retire in England.

Portugal

M. Manuel de Cunha Pimentel Homem de Mello (arrived August 1952), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

Succeeded M. Pinto Ferreira very suddenly, the latter having been recalled to Portugal because apparently M. Archer, the Portuguese Administrator, did not get on with him. M. Homen de Mello is a distant relative of M. Archer.

A man of about 50, M. Homem de Mello was last employed in the economic side of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon. He has served in Hamburg and Berlin, but apart from that little is yet known of his career.

He is married and has children, but none of his family has yet arrived. He speaks no English.

Spain

Señor Don Cristóbal del Castillo (arrived September 1945), consul-general with the personal rank of minister.

Señor del Castillo joined the Spanish Diplomatic Service in 1917. He was minister-counsellor in Paris before the war and minister in Athens before serving here as consul-general from 1942–44 when he was appointed Assistant Under-Seceretary in Madrid. After the Paris Conference in 1945 he was reappointed consul-general in Tangier. During the war he is said to have given the impression of being anti-British, but on his return to Tangier in 1945 he frequently spoke of the need for co-operation between Spain and the United Kingdom and the United States. Recently, though aggressive for Spanish claims, he has been very friendly. There is no doubt that he feels Spain has a right to a predominant voice in the affairs of the International Zone, and that put in its worst light she has expiated her sins of illegal occupation by an over-long sentence. His ambition is to see Spain restored as nearly as possible to her pre-war position in this Zone before he retires. He has, I believe, great influence in Madrid as far as Morocco is concerned. I have heard on good authority that he has been offered the Spanish Embassy in Paris and even possibly the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Madrid. He would be unlikely to accept either as he detests social affairs and never goes out at all. He has suffered from bad health for several years, and has, in fact, recently attended to business in his home and sometimes in bed. He has at long last agreed to go to Madrid for an operation for, apparently, a duodenal ulcer. His long experience of Morocco (thirty years on and off), his rather jesuistical interpretation of a country gentleman's codes, and his undoubtedly very acute intelligence, make him a colleague to be treated with care, nowever pleasant and friendly he may be. His wife, who is a delightful little party from Bilbao, speaks English. They have one son who has recently been studying for a year or more in England.

United States

Mr. John Carter Vincent (arrived June 1951), American diplomatic agent and consul-general.

*Mr. Vincent joined the United States Foreign Service about twenty-seven years ago; went to China as a language student in 1929; and eventually rose through various consular posts in China to be director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department. As such he was associated with the policy embodied in General Marshall's mission to China and when that failed was involved in the attacks on the State Department's conduct of affairs engineered by the China lobby in Congress. He was removed from the State Department and appointed minister in Berne, whence he was transferred to make room for a political appointee. It was intended to make him ambassador to Costa Rica, but apparently the State Department did not dare to face the necessity of submitting his appointment to Congress, and eventually decided to move him here, as the nomination to the post of diplomatic agent does not require congressional approval. (Written in 1951.)

He spent a large part of the winter 1951–52 in the United States apparently defending himself against the attacks on his loyalty of Senator McCarthy and his like. He has expressed I think a genuine admiration for his former colleagues in Her Majesty's Consular Service who initiated him as a young vice-consul into Chinese affairs. He is a friendly and agreeable colleague. He feels his position as representative of the only Power retaining capitulations a little difficult. This, combined with attacks in Washington on his "loyalty" and consequent reduced chances of promotion, have made him rather bitter and unwilling, in an American election year, to take a strong line on anything. He and his wife are pleasantly informal and very interested in music.

CHAPTER IV.—ALGERIA

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/1 No. 24

ALGERIA: POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1951

Mr. Consul-General Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received 15th January)

(No. 1. Saving) *Algiers,*
(Telegraphic) *11th January, 1952.*

1. General

There is little or nothing of outstanding importance in Algerian politics to report. Elections for the renewal of half of the seats for the Conseils Généraux were held on 7th and 14th October, and were marked by abnormal apathy on the part of the electorate, particularly the first (European) college. It is, however, interesting to note that the appeal by the bureau of the new Algerian National Front, asking followers of the U.D.M.A. and M.T.L.D. to abstain from voting, in protest against alleged irregularities in the elections of 17th June, 1951, was comparatively unsuccessful. The result of the election was a marked defeat for the Communists.

The Third Ordinary Session of the Algerian Assembly was formally opened by the Governor-General on 20th November. M. Léonard, who was addressing the Assembly for the second time since his arrival in May, gave his blessing to its task of implementing the principle of the independence of the Moslem cult, and, turning to the 1951–52 budget, announced an increase in expenditure of over 10 per cent., which he proposed should be met by raising the tax on industrial vehicles and the tax on petrol. These proposals, which were somewhat coldly received, were finally amended in the course of the session, and the additional budget was voted on 29th December.

Events in Egypt were followed with interest, as was, perhaps by a more limited section of the population, the visit of the Prime Minister and yourself to Paris, which was favourably commented upon, and the forthcoming talks in Washington.

2. Activities of Political Parties

The Communists have continued to exploit, to the best of their ability, the various Nationalist movements in the Arab world; in the first place, by supporting in their press or in any other manner possible, the aspirations of the Nationalist parties in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, and secondly, by affording what publicity they can to the forthcoming "Peace" Congress in Cairo. The attitude of the French Government-General, when this congress is mentioned, is to shrug it off as being unimportant, on the ground that the Communists do not count for much in Algeria. This may appear to be so if one looks at the most recent election figures, but allowance must be made for a certain amount of Government interference in these elections. Taking the country as a whole, it is true that the larger part of the Moslem population, living in the interior, is apathetic as regards international affairs, of which it is wholly ignorant. The same may not be said, however, of the natives in Algiers and other towns of the coastal belt, who are open to both Nationalist and Communist propaganda and offer the usual example of a little knowledge being a dangerous thing.

A considerable number of letters and resolutions from branches of the Communist Party in all parts of Algeria, protesting against British "aggression" in Egypt, continued to reach me at Algiers.

The editor of the Communist *Alger Républicain,* Boualem Khalfa, was present at the ceremonies at Tirana to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Albanian Communist Party.

3. Communist Activities and Labour

Efforts are being made to organise, within the orbit of the C.G.T., the agricultural workers of Algeria, whose representatives met at Algiers in November. Strikes of farm labourers took place on a small scale, and in some cases increases in wages were obtained.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and French Administration

Nothing of importance to report.

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reform, &c.

Questions referred to by the Governor-General in his address to the Algerian Assembly on 20th November included certain proposed reforms of the Central Administration and of the nationalised Algerian railways. Both questions were the subject of debate, but no definite conclusions have been reached so far.

Another subject mentioned by M. Léonard, as already indicated above, was the independence of the Moslem cult, the principle of which is formally recognised in the Statute of Algeria. The Moslems of course, are in favour of complete disestablishment, whereas most of the European element, though it dare not openly say so, would like the Government to retain a measure of control. The Assembly, at the end of November, elected a Special Commission of twenty-five members to examine the problem and make recommendations, and for the moment the question appears to be shelved.

6. Impact of Events in Neigbouring Territories on Local Opinion

Developments in Tunisia and Morocco continued to be followed with interest.

Considerable impression has been made among Arab circles by the proclamation of the new Kingdom of Libya, news of which, though given adequate press publicity, has caused a certain amount of nervousness in official circles.

7. Press

The daily Communist organ, *Alger Républicain,* which for a long time has been in financial difficulties, is being assisted by occasional remittances from the headquarters of the French Communist Party in Paris, but has been told to continue its local appeal for funds.

8. Governor-General

The Governor-General on 12th October inaugurated the first of a series of regular conferences with the prefects of the three Algerian Departments and senior officials of the Government-General. In the latter half of the same month he proceeded to Paris to attend a conference on North African affairs with M. Périllier and General Guillaume. He was again in Paris from 17th–25th December for consultations with the Government.

M. Léonard, like his predecessor, has been very active in visiting different parts of the country, from the coastal towns to the southern territories, and becoming acquainted with its problems. Mme. Léonard is also making herself known to the general public, as she is taking an active interest in various charitable organisations.

9. Algerian Assembly

The Assembly rose on 29th December after a busy session ending with an all-night sitting when, as already stated, the supplementary budget was voted. The business of the session included, apart from questions referred to above, the voting of a motion recommending parity of basic salaries between Metropolitan and Algerian civil servants (a recommendation which has the support of the Governor-General, but has not yet received the sanction of the Paris Government); the hearing of a financial statement by M. Tixier, Director-General of Finances; the hearing of a statement by M. Urbani on social security in Algeria; and a debate on the problem of the welfare of the numerous Algerians who proceed every year to Metropolitan France in search of work.

10. Impact of Foreign Affairs on Local Opinion

The war in Indo-China continued to be among the principal topics discussed, all the more so as troopships or hospital ships from time to time put in at Algerian ports to land wounded or mutilated men from that corner of South-East Asia.

The Anglo-Persian oil dispute was eclipsed by events in Egypt. The Egyptian cause has naturally been taken up with enthusiasm by the Communist *Alger Républicain,* but no sympathy for the Egyptians is to be found outside the Communist and nationalist ranks, particularly since the Egyptians started interfering in Franco-Moroccan relations.

Considerable interest was aroused by the British general election and Mr. Churchill's return to office.

Your speech at the opening of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was well received both by the press and by persons of my acquaintance, though it must be admitted that M. Vishinsky's performances have tended to make the public somewhat sceptical of the ability of that organisation to preserve world peace.

11. Miscellaneous

The Soviet Consulate-General at Algiers was closed on 15th October, it being announced that its services would be transferred to the consular section of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Paris.

Four United States Senators, Messrs. Theodore Francis Green, Alexander Wiley, Donald O'Toole and Kenneth Keating, part of a group attending as observers at the meetings of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, arrived at Algiers on a twenty-four-hours' visit on 29th November. Though they were supposed to have come here to study conditions in North Africa and local problems, it would seem that most of their time was spent sight-seeing. From Algiers they proceeded to Tangier the following day.

It was announced towards the end of December that the Metropolitan Government had decided that M. Maxime Roux, Prefect of Algiers, should change places with M. André Trémeaud, Prefect of Loiret. M. Trémeaud is expected to arrive at Algiers soon after the middle of January.

M. Kérouédan, Assistant Commercial Counsellor at the French Embassy in London, paid a short visit at the end of December to Algiers, during the course of which he called on me. I attended a talk which he gave to representatives of the Chambers of Commerce of Algeria.

Another visitor to Algiers was M. Robert Buron, Minister of Information, who inspected the local radio station and conferred with local officials.

Recent events in the Suez Canal Zone have resulted in a constant stream of British liners and troop transports, both eastward and homeward-bound, calling at Algiers for water and oil fuel. British shipping thus entering the port during the quarter under review amounted to 109 ships, or a total of 518,571 tons, compared with fifty-six ships and 132,470 tons in the corresponding quarter of 1950. No objection has been raised by the French authorities to shore leave being granted to the numerous troops thus passing through, and liaison arrangements have worked smoothly to the satisfaction of both sides. These frequent visits of British soldiers and airmen to the city have been commented on in the local press in the most friendly terms—Communist papers always excepted.

JF 1013/4 No. 25

ALGERIA: POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDED 31st MARCH, 1952

Consul-General Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received 15th April)

(No. 5. Saving) *Algiers,*
(Telegraphic) *11th April, 1952.*

1. General

The situation in Algeria was, outwardly at least, quiet and orderly. Nationalist activities remained within the bounds permitted by democratic government, and the Communist Party cannot be said to have met with any success. The " three departments " of French North Africa continue in fact to present the somewhat remarkable picture of a peaceful territory lying between two protectorates clamouring violently for independence. A slight feeling of uneasiness is, however, to be detected among the French population at events in the Regency and further developments in Tunisia and Morocco are bound to react here sooner or later.

2. Activities of Political Parties

The " United Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Freedom," in which the Algerian Communist Party, the M.T.L.D., the U.D.M.A. and the Oulamas joined forces (my despatch No. 59 of 6th August, 1951), continued its activities during the quarter under review. The Nationalist parties went further along the road of co-operation when, on 2nd February, representatives of both the M.T.L.D. and the U.D.M.A. subscribed at Paris to a " North African Pact," formed by North African Nationalist groups with a view to intensifying the struggle for independence in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The outcome was the creation of a " Committee of North African Union and Action," including representatives of the following parties: —

Tunisia—
Néo-Destour.
Destour.

Algeria—
M.T.L.D.
U.D.M.A.

Morocco (French)—
Istiqlal.
Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance.

Morocco (Spanish)—
Parti de l'Unité Marocaine.
Parti Réformiste de l'Indépendance.

This committee was formed under the ægis and in the presence of Sheikh Bachir El Ibrahimi, president of the Association of Algerian Oulamas.

At a by-election held at Algiers on 27th January to fill a vacancy in the French National Assembly resulting from the illness of a former Deputy, M. Jacques Chevalier was returned with 72,327 votes against 16,876 votes for the Communist candidate and 3,762 for the Socialist candidate. The Communist candidate lost 47 per cent. of the votes cast for the Communists in the general election of June 1951. M. Chevalier, who had previously resigned his membership of the French National Assembly to stand for election as a delegate to the Algerian Assembly (my despatch No. 10 of 25th January, 1951), has now resigned his seat in the latter.

3. Communist Activities and Labour

The Algerian Communist Party has continued its policy of endeavouring to stir up trouble among the workers through the C.G.T. and by the organisation of meetings of protest on such occasions as " Women's National Day," " Tunisia Day," &c., most of which are designed to arouse interest among their somewhat inactive followers.

On 3rd February the party held its 10th Regional Conference (Algiers and district), while on 21st February the 6th National Congress of the Algerian Communist Party was held at Algiers, in the presence of M. André Marty, secretary of the French Communist Party and Deputy for Paris. M. Marty also visited Oran, where there is a strong Communist following.

The Administration, on the other hand, is bringing continued pressure to bear on Communist organisations, and prosecutions for the diffusion of certain tracts and publication of highly coloured news items have become a common feature of this anti-Communist offensive.

A " Peasants' Conference," which was to have taken place in Algiers on 14th February, appears to have misfired, the many delegates who were to have come from outlying districts having failed to materialise. It is known that the Communists are paying increased attention to agricultural workers, but their efforts in this respect have met with little or no success.

The Transport and Dock Workers' Union held an African conference at Algiers from 21st–23rd March, attended by delegates from all the French West African Colonies. As a sign that there is to be closer liaison between the Communist trade unions in the regions bordering the Sahara, this conference is revealing.

The quarter under review was reasonably free from labour unrest. A one-day bus and tram strike at Algiers was rendered ineffective by the prompt and energetic measures of the préfet, who, with the assistance of the military authorities, operated an excellent *ad hoc* transport service.

Twenty-four-hour strikes were also staged throughout the Department of Constantine on 17th March, which may indicate some aggressive action by the Communists in that area.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

Nothing to report.

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reform, &c.

The proposed " disestablishment " of the Moslem cult in Algeria, with its transfer from the hands of the Administration to those of a specially appointed religious body, which is implicit in the 1947 Statute of Algeria, has made no progress since it was taken up by the Algerian Assembly during the last session of 1951. Moslem circles are frankly sceptical, and ammunition is thereby provided to both Nationalists and Communists.

The projected reorganisation of the southern territories (my telegram No. 10, Saving, of 31st October, 1951) has been the occasion for a visit to Algeria of a delegation of ten members of the *Commission de l'Intérieur* of the French National Assembly. The mission, which was received by the Governor-General before starting on their tour, spent several days in Algeria, in the course of which they visited the principal towns and oases of the southern territories. They also examined the question of native labour emigrating to France. As regards the inclusion of part of the southern territories within the three Algerian Departments, there is reason to believe that this scheme is meeting with a certain amount

of opposition among the native elements, though no mention of this has appeared in the press.

The reform of the Central Algerian Administration has been the subject of discussion in the Algerian Assembly. The Assembly finally recommended the supression of five *sous-directions* and of two *inspecteurs généraux*, which would result in a saving of some 15 million francs. It also recommended that all appointments to senior positions in the directorates be made by the Governor-General, and that any alteration in the number of directorates, or new appointments, &c., be made by the Governor-General after reference to the Algerian Assembly. It now remains to be seen what Paris will decide.

6. Impact of Events in Neighbouring Territories on Local Opinion

Events in Morocco, while still followed with interest, have been overshadowed in local minds by the more recent and more serious developments in Tunisia. The "Algerian Front for the Defence and Respect of Freedom" was prompt to seize the opportunity offered, and demonstrations and stoppages of work were called on "Tunisia Day," 20th February. The day passed off quietly, perhaps because of the special precautions taken by the authorities, when all available police forces were held in readiness. A protest meeting was held by the "Front" at a local cinema on 27th March.

The accession to independence of the United Kingdom of Libya, though naturally welcomed among Moslems in general, has not been well received by the French. Early in January some of the French press published inspired articles exalting French work in the Fezzan. The *République Algérienne*, which at first was inclined to be pleased with events, published on 7th March a translation of an article which had appeared in the Tripolitanian paper *Chu'Lat-Az-Hurreyah* calling Libyan independence a dupery.

7. Press

The efforts of the Administration and of the European Right-wing elements to eradicate the Communist organ, *Alger Républicain*, took a fresh turn when the directors of *La Dépêche Quotidienne*, who once owned the premises occupied by the Communist daily, queried the legality of the expropriation of their premises in 1946 for collaboration with Vichy. The dispute became the subject of litigation and indications are that the *Conseil d'Etat*, before which the case is being heard, will find in favour of *La Dépêche Quotidienne*, formerly known as *La Dépêche Algérienne*.

The Communist weekly, *Liberté*, has been seized for three weeks in succession, while the Nationalist *Algérie Libre* suffered the same fate on 1st February. A small orderly meeting of protest held outside the Préfecture at Algiers on 27th March was rapidly and rather brutally dispersed by the police.

The Alger Républicain published leading articles on 27th February and 5th March warning readers of the consequences that would follow the implementation of the Lisbon communiqué concerning the inclusion of French North Africa in the framework of the Atlantic Pact and the proposed transfer of certain German industrial units to North Africa.

8. Governor-General

From 18th–24th January, M. Léonard visited the southern territories along the Algero-Moroccan border. On 22nd January he attended the *Conférence des Confins* at Colomb Béchar, together with the Residents-General of Tunisia and Morocco.

From 17th–24th February the Governor-General was in Paris. He stated on his return that important credits had been promised by the metropolitan Government for the *Caisse Algérienne de Crédit Agricole Mutuel*. He paid a second visit to Paris at the end of March.

9. Algerian Assembly

An extraordinary session of the Assembly was opened by the Governor-General on 15th January. Business included—

(1) Discussion of proposed reforms of the Central Algerian Administration (see section 5 above);
(2) Extension to agricultural workers of old age relief; and
(3) An increase in the taxation on spirits and cigarettes.

At the opening of the budgetary session on 11th February, a special tribute was paid by the President, M. Saiah Abdelkader, and by the Governor-General to the memory of His Late Majesty King George VI (my telegram No. 9 of 11th February).

Although the budget should have been voted by midnight on 31st March the final chapters were still to be discussed in the first few days of April. The Administration's proposals provided for expenditure totalling about 110 milliard francs, with an estimated surplus of 148 million francs of revenue over expenditure.

10. Impact of Foreign Affairs on Local Opinion

Events in Egypt have been followed closely, but appear to have caused no reaction among the masses of the native population. French persons continued to express their relief at our firm handling of the situation. Messali Hadj returned to Algiers from Paris, after a protracted stay in Egypt and the Middle East. In a statement to his paper, *Algérie Libre*, he said that he had had many useful talks both in Paris and in the Middle East, particularly with a view to common action before U.N.O.

11. Miscellaneous

M. Claudius Petit, Minister for Reconstruction and Town Planning, and M. André Morice, Minister for the Merchant Marine, paid visits to Algiers during February.

Mr. W. G. Hayter, Her Majesty's Minister in Paris, accompanied by Mrs. Hayter, was at Algiers from 24th to 26th February in the course of a tour of French North Africa. Mr. Hayter called on the Governor-General, and he and Mrs. Hayter, together with my wife and me, were entertained to dinner by the Governor-General and Mme. Léonard. They also had an opportunity, at an informal cocktail party at my residence, of meeting a number of local personalities and members of the British community.

The following naval visits took place during the quarter:—

The 6th United States Fleet to Mers-el-Kébir from 21st–26th January (over twenty-five ships);

Over twenty ships of the French Navy, together with four American destroyers, to Algiers from 22nd–25th February, after which they sailed to take part in the Mediterranean manœuvres "operation Grand Slam"; and

Six units of the Netherlands Royal Navy to Algiers from 7th–10th March.

Admiral Robert Carney, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern European Forces, arrived at Algiers by air from Naples on 28th January.

On 1st February a party of American journalists visited Algiers on an officially-sponsored tour of inspection of western defences. They had a press conference with General Callies, who told me the next day that he had been favourably impressed by his visitors.

On 20th March a National Defence Mission, comprising representatives of the various French Government Departments interested in defence from the point of view of supplies, visited Algiers.

JF 1013/8 No. 26

ALGERIA: POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDED 30th JUNE, 1952

Consul-General Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received 16th July)

(No. 45. Restricted) *Algiers,*
Sir, *4th July, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended 30th June, 1952.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tetuan and Tangier, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Malta.

I have, &c.
CYRIL F. W. ANDREWS.

Enclosure in No. 26

Political Review of Events in Algeria for the quarter ended 30th June, 1952

1. General

With the exception of the one or two incidents referred to below, the general situation in Algeria during the quarter under review has remained more or less stationary, in somewhat striking contrast to that in the adjoining Regency of Tunis. At the

end of the quarter complete calm prevailed in the three North African Departments and the Southern Territories.

The budget, which should have been voted by midnight on 31st March, was approved in its final form by the Algerian Assembly on 2nd April, and provided for a total expenditure of 113,953,164,000 francs and receipts amounting to 113,985,180,000 francs, representing a surplus of 32,016,000 francs.

2. Activities of Political Parties

Elections to the Council of the Republic were held on 18th May in the Departments of Constantine and Oran. The results showed little or no change in the position of the parties. It may be noted that, in the second college (Moslem), two candidates of the U.D.M.A., or comparatively moderate Nationalist Party, were re-elected in the Department of Constantine, whilst the remaining successful candidates in both departments are all pro-French.

At a bye-election in June for the Algerian Assembly to fill the seat left vacant by the resignation of M. Jacques Chevallier (*vide* my telegram No. 5 Saving of 11th April), Professor P. Fourment, a moderate Republican, was elected on the second ballot. The Communist vote showed a distinct set-back as compared with the elections of February 1951.

M. Ferhat Abbas, Secretary-General of the U.D.M.A. Nationalist Party, is to stand for the French National Assembly in a bye-election on 13th July.

Nationalist–Communist riots on a limited scale occurred in Algiers in the morning and afternoon of 28th April (my telegram No. 38 of 30th April). The occasion was the hearing of the appeal of a number of persons previously sentenced for subversive activities. A crowd of hooligans, who were out only for rioting and robbery, joined the political demonstrators, and trolley buses and private cars were stoned and a few Europeans molested. Fighting took place between the rioters and the police, a number of casualties being sustained on both sides.

As reported in my telegram No. 44 of 15th May and subsequent messages, disturbances broke out on 14th May at Orléansville, a town about half-way between Algiers and Oran, when the police attempted to disperse a large crowd who had gathered to welcome the Nationalist leader, Messali Hadj. The police opened fire, killing two persons and wounding a number of others. Casualties were also suffered by the police. Within a few hours an order was signed by the Governor-General expelling Messali from the three departments of Algeria and the Southern Territories, and the M.T.L.D. leader was immediately escorted by air to France, where he is being kept under "supervised residence" in the Department of Deux-Sèvres. Messali's expulsion caused a considerable stir at the time, but a general strike called for 23rd May by the M.T.L.D. and the Algerian Communist Party to protest against it proved a complete fiasco throughout the country (my telegram No. 13 Saving of 14th May). The Governor-General subsequently told me in private conversation that he was convinced that, had Messali been allowed to remain in Algeria, the whole country would rapidly have been aflame.

3. Communist Activities and Labour

As a result of an imposing display of force at Algiers and in the main provincial centres of the country, the 1st May passed off quietly throughout Algeria, with the exception of Oran, where some rioting occurred during the morning, police and private cars being stoned. The usual May Day demonstrations in the smaller centres were orderly.

M. Larbi Bouhali, secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, was brought before the Correctional Tribunal of Algiers on 17th June, charged with plotting against the internal security of the State, following a speech made by him last January. The verdict is expected on 7th July.

No major strikes have been reported during the quarter, but at Oran the dockers lived up to their reputation of periodically making themselves a nuisance. At Algiers there was a 24-hour strike among the printers on 2nd May in protest against the arrest of one of their members. At Algiers and other centres the civil servants on the metropolitan establishment, who for some time have been dissatisfied with their allowances, staged a 24-hour strike on 13th May.

4. Relations between Local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

At the end of the quarter the Algerian Assembly was holding its last debates before the summer recess, and on 5th July passed a resolution asking the Metropolitan Government for a grant of 40 milliard francs towards Algeria's capital investment programme.

5. Developments in French Administrative Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reform, &c.

The Assembly also expressed its alarm at rumours of the "nationalisation" of the Sahara, and placed on record its opinion that that territory should remain an integral part of Algeria.

6. Impact of Events in neighbouring territories on Local Opinion

The situation in Tunisia was closely followed by both Moslem and European elements in this country. Although there has so far been no serious reaction among the Arab Nationalists, the growing anxiety among the French element was shown by the extensive publication of the debates in the National Assembly on 5th and 19th June, in which a number of Algerian Deputies—among them M. Jacques Chevallier—played a leading part. Considerable irritation was felt in local French circles at the alleged American interference in French North African affairs, particularly at the moral support given by a section of the American press to the Nationalist parties in the three French North African territories.

Pakistan was given a bad press on the occasion of its attempt to raise the Tunisian question before U.N.O. at the beginning of the quarter.

7. Press

The legal battle between the Communist organ, *Alger Républicain*, and the directors of *La Dépêche Quotidienne* for the possession of the former's premises is still before the French courts.

Algérie Libre, organ of the M.T.L.D. Nationalist Party, was suspended for three months at the beginning of May. *Alger Républicain* was seized on 31st May, the day following the arrest of M. Jacques Duclos in Paris.

M. Georges Blachette (personality No. 20), owner of *Le Journal d'Alger*, is reported to have purchased *L'Echo d'Alger* and its evening counterpart, *Dernière Heure*, at the beginning of the quarter. An announcement concerning the merging of these papers is expected next October.

8. Governor-General

During the visit to Algeria of the Minister of the Interior (see section 11), rumours were current that M. Léonard was not anxious to remain much longer in his present office. It was also said that M. Brune would not be averse to taking M. Léonard's place. There is, however, no confirmation of these rumours, which may amount only to idle gossip.

9. Algerian Assembly

The Assembly met on 7th May to elect its new *bureau* for 1952–53. The President this year is a delegate of the First College (European), M. Raymond Laquière (personality No. 5). The new *bureau* was solemnly installed by the Governor-General on 20th May.

A large part of the session was devoted to the examination and voting of the various clauses of the budget, which in its final form provided for the expenditure of 4 milliard francs more than the Administration's original proposals. Features of the new budget include the introduction of export taxes on paper, paper pulp and waste, hides and skins, wools and hairs, esparto grass, baskets, and ferrous metal scrap. After the taxes had been voted, a motion was tabled by a number of delegates to cancel them in order that the economic policy of the Algerian Government might be kept in line with that of the Metropolitan Government. The proposal, however, was rejected.

An Algerian Government Loan, along the same lines as M. Pinay's loan in France, was launched at the end of May under the auspices of the Governor-General.

10. Impact of Foreign Affairs on Local Opinion

Events in Egypt, Iran and the Far East have continued to be followed with interest but caused no reaction among the mass of the native population. The Communist daily paper, *Alger Républicain*, has followed the usual party line in accusing American military leaders in Korea of waging bacteriological warfare, and in attempting to stir up popular feeling against General Ridgway, but without any apparent success. The Allied bombing of the Yalu River power stations, the shooting down of Swedish aircraft in the Baltic, the publication in Paris of the so-called Fechteler report and similar items were all fully exploited in the Communist press.

11 Miscellaneous

Admiral Sir John Edelsten, K.C.B., C.B.E., British Naval Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, flying his flag in H.M.S. *Surprise* and escorted by the ships of the Second Frigate Squadron, paid a visit to Algiers from 2nd to 5th April, the Second

Frigate Squadron remaining forty-eight hours longer. Owing to Court Mourning, the programme of entertainment on both sides was on a limited scale, but the visit may be considered to have been an unqualified success in every way.

Other visits to Algerian ports during the quarter were paid by Vice-Admiral Gardner and a number of units of the United States Navy (Algiers, 22nd–29th April); the French battleship, *Richelieu* (Algiers, 23rd–29th April) and the training ship, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Algiers, 26th April–1st May); nineteen units of the United States Navy commanded by Rear-Admiral Brown (Mers-el-Kebir, 4th–10th May); and Admiral Girosi, Italian Naval Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, who arrived by air from Naples on 21st April to visit Admiral Sala and returned on 23rd April.

Parachute exercises were held in the Bône area by French military forces during the second week of June, with the co-operation of ground forces who were mainly reservists. Five American aircraft (Fairchild C 119) and their crews were utilised on this occasion.

The Minister of the Interior, M. Charles Brune, visited Algeria from 23rd–29th April, and toured the country extensively. At Algiers he received the foreign consular representatives and French administrative and judicial authorities. His broadcast statement, on his return to Paris, denying that any disturbances had taken place at Algiers during his visit, which coincided with the riots of 28th April (see section 2 above), was received here with a certain amount of annoyance.

During M. Brune's stay, Algiers also received the visit of M. Jacques Gavini, Secretary of State for the Navy; of M. André Morice, Minister of Public Works and Transport; and M. Temple, Minister of ex-Servicemen and War Victims.

The official Birthday of Her Majesty The Queen was celebrated at Algiers by a reception given by Her Majesty's Consul-General and Mrs. Andrews, which was well attended by members of the British community, the Governor-General and Madame Léonard, other high ranking officials, senior officers of the armed forces and their ladies, the President of the Algerian Assembly, and other leading personalities. British subjects and local officials in the Bône district attended a reception given by the Acting British Vice-Consul at Bône and Mrs. G. Jones. (See my despatch No. 38 of 6th June, 1952.)

JF 1013/12 No. 27

ALGERIA: POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS FOR THE QUARTER ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER, 1952

Consul-General Gauntlett to Mr. Eden. (Received 12th November)

(No. 68. Confidential) *Algiers,*
Sir, *23rd October, 1952.*

In section 6 of my Political Report for the quarter ended 30th September, 1952, which I have the honour to enclose herein, there is recorded the view that French North African policy is most noticeable by its absence. That view, held mainly by Frenchmen from France who fear for their possessions in Algeria, is sometimes more crudely expressed by those who still firmly believe that " the natives should be kept in order."

2. As I see it, the real trouble is not the absence of a policy, but the existence of two policies—one proclaimed and the other pursued. The French pay lip-service, and pay it generously, often with a flourish of trumpets, to the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity for all their subjects in Algeria, but in reality they follow a far different course, whose purpose is, with little question, the preservation of French predominance. It is not, of course, only visitors to Algeria, such as the Pakistani referred to in section 3 of the enclosed report who are aware of this sort of thing. And, therein, I need hardly add, is to be found a potentially dangerous situation which is, perhaps, the more likely to develop more quickly because so many Frenchmen seem to be convinced by their own eloquence that the policy proclaimed and the policy pursued are one and the same thing.

3. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tetuan and Tangier, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Malta.

I have, &c.

G. R. GAUNTLETT.

Enclosure in No. 27

1. General

Although some increase in the activity of the Administration against Nationalists and Communists was evident during the summer months, the situation in the country continued to be quiet.

As usual, there was a mass exodus, to France or to the sea, of all whose business or fortune would allow. In this respect it is perhaps worth noting that more and more natives are following the example set by Europeans and now enjoy a day by the sea, whenever possible, or send their children to summer camps, the latter often organised by Moslem associations or clubs.

Labour remained relatively quiet during the quarter, except for a forty-day strike which affected a large number of cigarette factories, but which did not give rise to violence.

There is indirect evidence that the Nationalists (particularly the M.T.L.D. group) may step up their activities, encouraged in this by events in the neighbouring protectorates.

2. Activities of political parties

Something new in local politics was the " report to the electorate " issued by four of the Deputies of Algiers to the press on 27th August. The Deputies concerned, Messrs. Georges Blachette (Personality No. 4), Marcel Ribere (Personality No. 57), Marcel Paternot, and Jacques Chevallier (Personality No. 13) belong to the local coalition of " Independants et R.P.F. " and, with the exception of Chevallier, who was elected at an ensuing bye-election, were all elected on 18th June, 1951. According to their statement they have voted for the principal financial and economic measures put forward by M. Pinay's Government. They also voted for assistance to Church and other private schools—a point of appeal with a large part of the European element which is increasingly aware of what is termed privately the " native menace " and thus is eager to strengthen all purely European institutions.

The bye-elections held on 13th July to fill the seat left vacant in the French National Assembly by the death of M. Kessous, saw the defeat of M. Ferhat Abbas (Personality No. 1), secretary-general of the U.D.M.A. and the election, as an Independent, of M. Naroun Amar, to whom Nationalists and Communists referred slightingly as an " Administration puppet." At the election, M. Naroun polled 115,326 votes, M. Ferhat, 14,079 votes, and the Communist candidate 1,061 votes.

M. Ferhat Abbas was condemned to three months' imprisonment, *in absentia*, on 29th July, for striking an official in a polling station during the elections for a Senator held on 18th May, 1952.

The election of M. August Rencurel (R.G.R.) as one of his party's representatives to the Assembly of the French Union was well publicised by his party at Algiers. M. Rencurel, a former Deputy, was beaten during the last elections by the coalition headed by M. Blachette.

Towards the end of the summer there was increased activity by the Communist-inspired " Algerian Front," the most active partner, after the Algerian Communist Party, being the Nationalist M.T.L.D. Concurrently with this new activity, and the reappearance of the recently-banned *L'Algérie Libre*, the M.T.L.D. organ, the Administration has been stepping up its repressive measures. An instance of extreme police vigilance was afforded by the arrest, on 23rd September, of a local singer and his small orchestra at a Moslem wedding celebration. The police officer " vetting " the wedding party charged the singer with the addition of subversive words to the text of an Egyptian song. Both the Communists and M.T.L.D. have made much, as was to be expected, of the fact that the song—at least in its original form—is a very popular request number frequently broadcast by the Government-owned Radio Algiers.

The maintenance of Messali Hadj (Personality No. 51), leader of the M.T.L.D. movement, in " supervised residence " at Deux-Sevres, in France, continues to afford party members with a target for protests. An outburst of mural inscriptions in September demanding his release was dealt with by the police by simply rounding up the culprits and making them remove the objectionable markings or paint them over. But many small " stickers " are still to be seen, particularly in native quarters.

3. Communist activities and Labour

Communist propaganda has continued unabated during the period under review. Bacteriological warfare by the Americans in North Korea and China continued to inspire articles in their papers. Dr. Needham's statement in September to the press in London on his return from Korea, for instance, was given due prominence.

Illustrated comics, such as *Mickey*, a coloured weekly for children published in France, have come under fire, parents being warned of the insidious harm which these "American" publications do to their children. *Vaillant*, the party's weekly for children, is naturally suggested instead.

On 25th September, the central offices of the Communist Party at Algiers and those of the weekly paper *Liberté* were searched.

As already reported in the preceding section, renewed emphasis is being given to the importance of the "Algerian Front" in the fight for better standards of living, freedom and peace. The first anniversary of the "Front" was celebrated at Algiers on 8th August; strangely enough little or no reference was made to the U.D.M.A.

The International Geological Congress, which took place at Algiers in September, was an opportunity for the party to send a letter, which it published, warning the delegates to "look behind the scenes" and not accept the Administration's statements about the country at their face value. This is precisely what one of the Pakistani delegates did, and it is noteworthy that in private conversation he stated that it was quite obvious to him that all the French achievements in Algeria—and he did not deny that they were manifold and often great—had all been carried out for the exclusive benefit of the European element. It is unfortunately true that the attitude of the majority of local French civil servants towards Moslem visitors is one of immediate, and often active, suspicion which can do nothing to lessen an impression such as that gained by the Pakistani delegate.

Administrative interference with Communist and Nationalist papers produced, on 12th August, a joint protest signed by a representative of each paper on behalf of a "Committee for the Defence of Freedom of Expression."

The outstanding labour conflict, in an otherwise quiet period, was a strike for higher wages which involved most of the tobacco and cigarette factories at Algiers, and later at Oran. This strike lasted from 17th July to 27th August, when the workers went back to work, a compromise solution having been reached.

M. Pinay's attempts at price stabilisation have been under constant fire from the Communists, with, it must be recorded, some justification, since August, when noticeable increases began taking place, particularly as regards to food-stuffs.

Finally, a number of trade union representatives left Algiers on 20th July to visit Roumania, Poland and the U.S.S.R. Another delegation, of women this time, attended the International Democratic Federation of Women at Bucharest between 17th and 22nd July.

4. Relations between local political leaders and parties and the French Administration

Leading European politicians, who mostly represent the large landowning classes, are past masters in the art of securing their ends through the "lobby." Despite all that may be said at election time, local politics are overshadowed by economics and personalities, and party labels often mean very little. M. Blachette, the Deputy for Algiers, provides a good example. He is said frequently to have gone over the head of the local administration, in his endeavours—successful, so far—to consolidate his virtual monopoly of the esparto grass trade, and to have obtained backing for his schemes in Paris. It has even been reported that he gets the ear of President Auriol on occasion, and there is no reason to disbelieve that report.

As for the Moslem Nationalist leaders, their relations with the French Administration are obviously far from cordial. On the fringe, perhaps, may be noted M. Ferhat Abbas who, with a little encouragement from the French, might well make an ally, instead of an enemy. After all, President Saiah Abdelkader (Personality No. 61), was a co-signatory of the Algerian Manifesto in 1943, yet now is thoroughly pro-French.

5. Developments in French administrative policy, proposals for Constitutional Reform, &c.

The "nationalisation" of the Sahara, which certain influential circles in Paris were proposing (it is even said that a shadow Ministry of the Sahara had actually been formed), now seems to have come to naught. The Governor-General, on his return from conversations in Paris on 29th September, stated unequivocally that the Sahara, whatever administrative changes might be made, would remain the responsibility of the Governor-General at Algiers.

6. Impact of events in neighbouring territories on local opinion

There has been growing concern among Europeans at the outcome of events in Tunisia and Morocco. Marshal Juin's article, entitled "Regards sur l'Afrique du Nord," which appeared in the magazine *Hommes et Mondes* on 30th September, has been recommended as compulsory reading by all the French press, with the exception of the Socialist *Oran Républicain* and, of course, the Communist papers. A fear that European predominance in Algeria is bound to end in their own lifetime is expressed in conversation by many private French people. There is a growing realisation that much depends on French action in the neighbouring protectorates and an already widespread feeling can best be summed up in the words of an editorial which appeared in *L'Echo d'Oran* on 4th September: ". . . . in a word—and not a new one at that—the great weakness of our North African policy is its non-existence."

7. Press

The M.T.L.D.'s weekly paper, *L'Algérie Libre*, is once more appearing, after a suspension lasting three months. The new issues are noticeably better prepared; a more extensive use of photographs—formerly nearly always absent—helps to enhance its general appearance considerably. An illustration showing a demonstration by South African natives against the Malan Government's racial policies indicated a new development in a paper which, so far, has concerned itself with North African and Moslem questions.

The U.D.M.A.'s *La République Algérienne* continues to give prominence to the affairs of Pakistan, ever a soft spot with the editorial staff. This paper devotes more space to international events, as they affect the Moslem world, than does *L'Algérie Libre*, a paper with near-Communist leanings, while it also makes some pretence at being impartial.

Nothing has been heard officially concerning the merger said to be planned by M. Georges Blachette, Deputy of Algiers, which is to involve *L'Echo d'Alger*, *Le Journal d'Alger* and *Derniere Heures*, though some staff changes seem to confirm the earlier information.

8. Governor-General

The rumours that M. Léonard was not anxious to remain in his present office (see Political Review for quarter ended 30th June, 1952) continue to be current. There is still no confirmation or denial of these rumours, although judging from certain echoes which have appeared in the Communist press, they may well be the work of political opponents.

9. Algerian Assembly

The Extraordinary Session of the Algerian Assembly ended on 5th July, when members dispersed for the summer months, always a quiet period at Algiers. The last few days were spent examining the Administration's proposals for the reorganisation of the *Société Indigènes de Prévoyance* (S.I.P.), which are now to be termed *Société Agricoles de Prévoyance* (S.A.P.), and may include European as well as native beneficiaries.

Some measures of decentralisation placed before the Assembly by the Administration were duly passed. They are of strictly limited importance and concern the transfer of certain attributions from the Governor-General to the Prefects, namely the right to nominate consultant bodies attached to hospitals, the right to appoint members of the labour exchanges in Algerian ports, and the right to approve lists of blind persons for certain concessions.

On 5th July, before adjourning, the Assembly passed a strongly-worded resolution asking for the Sahara to remain under the administration of the Governor-General. In an earlier section, the apparent adoption of this point of view, by the central authorities in Paris, has been reported.

10. Impact of foreign affairs on local opinion

Although world events continued to receive adequate treatment in a somewhat parochial press, events in Indo-China naturally continued to overshadow those in Korea. There is little apparent reaction among the various elements of the population to world news. In some cases a certain lassitude can be noticed. In others fear of some rash move by the Americans is now being more openly voiced; the Communists, of course, lose no opportunity to encourage this state of mind.

As usual during the summer months, when all who can leave town, the principal subjects of conversation were the "Tour de France" cycle race and the heat.

11. Miscellaneous

The first reference to the experimental work being undertaken at Colomb Béchar

appeared in the press early in July when a short despatch was devoted to an experimental rocket, tried out in the Colomb Béchar area, then on show in Paris.

The outstanding local event in September was undoubtedly the holding at Algiers, from 7th to 14th September, of the XIXth International Geological Congress. Over 1,200 geologists, from seventy-eight countries, attended. (See Algiers despatch No. 60 of 19th September, 1952.)

This congress was followed by the Second Panafrican Congress of Prehistory, which opened at Algiers on 29th September.

On 31st August, H.M.S. *Alacrity*, accompanied by five mine-sweeping motor launches, called at Algiers to refuel and take on water.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/2

No. 28

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ALGERIA

Consul-General Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received 6th June)

(No. 34. Confidential) *Algiers,*
Sir, *20th May, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my personalities report for Algeria for 1952.

I have, &c.

CYRIL F. W. ANDREWS.

Enclosure in No. 28

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1. Abbas, Ferhat.

Aged 52 years. Born at Tahert (Algeria). Chemist by profession, and president of the Moslem Students' Friendly Society at Algiers. Was formerly a member of the Assembly of the French Union. Is Secretary-General of the comparatively moderate U.D.M.A. (Union Democratique du Manifeste Algérien) nationalist party, and editor of *La République Algérienne*.

2. Alazard, Professor Jean.

Aged about 55 years. Dean of the Faculty of Letters and director of the National Art Gallery at Algiers. Is president of L'Alliance Française. Has visited the United Kingdom as a guest of the British Council and proved helpful in arranging lectures by British Council representatives visiting Algiers. Is married.

3. Bayle, Francis.

Aged 51. Landowner and farmer. Mayor of Saida, member of the Departmental Council of Oran, and delegate to the Algerian Assembly. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Was a member of the Finance Committee of the Algerian Assembly, 1950–51, and first vice-president of the Assembly, 1951–52.

4. Blachette, Georges.

Aged about 55 years. Served in the Great War. Is president of the Federation of Algerian Producers' and Exporters' Association. A man of wealth and considerable influence, owns *Le Journal*, one of the Algerian daily (Right-wing) newspapers, and is believed to have purchased *L'Echo d'Alger* (April 1952). Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

5. Bonnafé, General René, O.B.E.
Officer Commanding the V^e Région Aérienne (Tunisia—Algeria—Morocco). At the time of the French Armistice in 1940 was serving on the staff of the Officer Commanding the French Air Forces in the Near East. He then joined a unit of the Royal Air Force, and in 1942 the Free French Forces. Was technical adviser to General Leclerc for the Air Force operations in the Fezzan and Tripolitania. Served on General de Gaulle's staff at Algiers in 1943 and became Chief of Staff in Algeria in 1945. Appointed head of the Prime Minister's Military Cabinet in 1947. Officer Commanding the Second Air Region, 1948, and transferred to his present appointment in 1950. He is a member of the French Air Council, a Commander of the Legion of Honour, and holds numerous French and foreign decorations. General Bonnafé is married, and he and his wife are popular in social circles at Algiers and frequently entertain in their attractive official residence. Both are very pro-British. He is an intimate friend of Prince Aly Khan, whose acquaintance he made during the war.

6. Borgeaud, Henri.
Senator for the Department of Algiers and President of the Rassemblement de la Gauche Républicaine. Is a landowner, wine-grower and businessman of considerable means. Presented Algiers with its first blood plasma laboratory.

7. Bouhali Larbi.
Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. Was sentenced in July 1952 to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 600,000 francs for plotting against the internal security of the State.

8. Boumendjel Ahmed.
Aged about 50 years. Native barrister. Member of the U.D.M.A. Nationalist Party; occasionally writes articles for *La République Algérienne*.

9. Bringard, Edmond.
Aged about 55. Director-General of the Securité Générale in Algeria. Is pro-British and was helpful at the time of the African landings, 1942. Holds the King's Medal for Courage in the Cause of Freedom and is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

10. Callies, General Jean.
Officer Commanding the X^e Région Militaire (Algeria). Aged 55 years. Born in Brittany. Entered Saint Cyr in 1914. Served in the Great War. Was wounded at Verdun in 1916, promoted captain and made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour at the age of 20. Subsequently served in Syria and Morocco. Chief of Staff of the 20th Division in September 1929, promoted Lieut.-Colonel, March 1940, and took part in the fighting in Luxemburg in May 1940. After the French collapse was sent again, at his request, to Morocco where he commanded and re-organised the 8th Régiment de Tirailleurs Marocains until his promotion to colonel in June 1942. Headed the French delegation to the German Armistice Commission at Casablanca, and gave up this appointment when the Allies landed in North Africa on 8th November, 1942.
He was then entrusted with the task of training young officers in North Africa for the Army of Liberation. Served with distinction in the Italian campaign where he finished with the rank of brigadier. Later commanded the First Infantry Division in the First French Army, which landed in the south of France and fought through to the Danube. Was for a time Governor of the Saar, and promoted Général de Division in December 1945. Assumed his present command in Algeria in May 1950. General Callies is an active and able soldier and obviously a leader of men.

11. Chatoney, The Reverend A.
President of the Reformed Church of France in Algeria.

12. Chevallier, Fernand.
Wealthy landowner and a former member of the French National Assembly. Related to Jacques Chevallier (*q.v.*).

13. Chevallier, Jacques.
Aged about 40. Belongs to an old French family established in Algeria for the past 80 years. Studied in France, in the United States, and finally at Algiers where he took his law degrees. At the age of 21 he had completed his military service and was married. Municipal Councillor of El Biar, a suburb of Algiers, at the age of 23. Volunteered for the army in September 1939 and entered the French counter-espionage service. Mayor of El Biar, April 1941, at the age of 29. Was held in high esteem by General Weygand and appointed a member of the old Financial Assembly of Algeria. Volunteered for service with the French army in Italy, but was recalled and appointed principal liaison officer to the French counter-espionage in the United States and Canada. Back in Algeria after the war, he was elected a member of the Departmental Council of Algiers and, shortly afterwards, deputy to the French National Assembly. Resigned his seat in January 1951 to stand as Independent candidate for the Algerian Assembly to which he was elected in the elections of February 1951. Resigned a year later and at a bye-election at Algiers on 27th January, 1952, was returned to the National Assembly with a crushing majority over his Communist and Socialist opponents. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and holds the Croix de Guerre.
The political activities of M. Jacques Chevallier, who undoubtedly is a dynamic young man, have been somewhat erratic. Though a member of an old established French *colon* family, and apparently a firm believer in the French presence in Algeria, he appears to have sought, about 18 months ago (1950), a rapprochement between Moslem and European elements, and it was not denied at the time that he had had talks with the Nationalist leader, M. Ferhat Abba (*q.v.*). There is reason to believe that he was also in touch with the American Consul-General and that his policy appealed to the Americans as offering the best solution for political peace in Algeria in the event of an international emergency. When early in 1951 he resigned his seat in the National Assembly to stand for the Algerian Assemly, he expressed dissatisfaction with the conduct of Algerian affairs by the French Government and demanded a form of Home Rule for Algeria. His campaign aroused little interest, with the result that it was shelved by its promoter, who appears to have returned to a more orthodox group in the French Parliament.

14. Collomb, Charles.
Aged about 58 years. Manager of the Office de Tunisie (Tunisian Tourist and Economic Bureau) at Algiers. Was formerly a journalist. An active anti-Communist

15. Coudray, Jean.
Aged 33 years. Manager of Coudray & Fils who are agents for the P. & O., British-India, and other leading shipping companies. Is very pro-British.

16. Cuttoli, Maurice.
The Secretary-General. Aged 47. Born at Bône, Algeria. Bachelor of Laws. After practising as a barrister at the Court of Appeal of Algiers, entered the French Civil Service in 1929, and in 1934 was Sous-Préfet in the Department of Aube. In 1936 and again in 1938 was Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Under-Secretary of the Interior. Sous-Préfet of Mamers and Boulogne, 1940. Préfet of the Department of Aube, 1942, when he is understood to have played an important part in the Resistance. Movement. Préfet of the Somme Department after the liberation, of Oran (Algeria) in 1947, and of the Department of Oise, 1949. Was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour for services rendered during the war. Assumed office as Secretary-General of the Government of Algeria, December 1951. M. Cuttoli is married and both he and his wife are pro-British and most friendly.

17. D'Avezac de Moran, André.
Aged about 35. Manager of the local branch of Worms & Cie., the well-known shipping firm, and is Honorary Consul for Austria. Married. Both he and his wife are very friendly.

18. de Nouvion, Vicomte G.
Aged about 50. Local manager of the Swedish Match Corporation. Active and frequently away on business in various countries. Does not indulge in politics. Speaks fluent English. His wife, who is Swedish, is prominent in local society. They are a wealthy couple and very friendly.

19. de Serigny, Vicomte Alain.
Aged about 45 years. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly and manager of *L'Echo d'Alger*, now reported sold to M. Georges Blachette (*q.v.*). Combines with his journalistic profession considerable political activities in which he is definitely Right-wing from the pro-Pétain section. His wife is a daughter of M. Torp, Honorary Consul-General for Norway. Both M. and Mme. de Serigny speak English.

20. Dolgouchine, Léon.
Engineer. White Russian. President of local White Russian Association.

21. Drouhin, Georges.
Director of the Services de l'Hydraulique at Algiers.

22. Durafour, Louis.
Owner of large constructional steel works at Algiers.

23. Duroux, Jean.
Aged about 45. Son of the late Senator, Jacques Duroux. Whilst not engaged in active politics, is energetic in pulling strings behind the scenes. Owner of *L'Echo d'Alger*, "Cargos Algériens," flour mills and large estates. His wife, who is a daughter of the Norwegian Consul-General, is the sister-in-law of M. Alain de Serigny (*q.v.*).

24. Eisenbeth, Maurice.
Grand Rabbi of Algiers. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

25. Fares, Abderhamane.
Aged 41 years. Born at Constantine (Algeria). A Moslem notary public by profession. Has taken part in municipal and departmental politics since 1948. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly, where he was Rapporteur-Général of the Finance Committee, 1949–50, and President of the same Committee, 1950–51. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

26. Ferhat, Belkacem, The Bachaga.
Third Vice-President (1952–53). Aged over 80 years. Belongs to an old noble Moslem family. Served with the French forces in the Great War, holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Member of the Conseil Superieur of Algeria.

27. Flinois, Marcel.
Aged 52 years. Born at Saida (Algeria). Studied law at Algiers University and was called to the Bar. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the Croix de Guerre. Was a member of the old Financial Assembly and since 1948 has been delegate to the Algerian Assembly, in which he has served successively as Rapporteur-Général of the Budget, President of the Finance Committee, and, in 1950–51, as President of the Assembly.

28. Frisson-Roche, Roger.
Aged about 40. Journalist and author.

29. Gazagne, René.
Mayor of Algiers. (King's Medal for Courage.)
Aged about 60. Was Préfet of the Département des Landes and rendered considerable service to British interests as a member of the French Resistance during the war, for which he was awarded the King's Medal for Courage in the Cause of Freedom in 1951. Some time Secretary-General of the Government of Algeria. Mayor of Algiers since 1948. Married. Both M. and Mme. Gazagne are most pro-British They entertain frequently and their parties are always enjoyable.

30. Germain, Henry.
Senior member of a family of important landowners and wine producers. Creator of the first regular air line in North Africa, now a part of Air France.

31. Giberton, Professor.
In charge of the biological chemistry laboratory of the University of Algiers. Is pro-British.

32. Guiauchain, Jacques.
One of the owners of the Hotel St. George, of which he lately (June 1952) obtained control. Is an architect by profession, and was designer of the Government-General building.

33. Guiauchain, Pierre.
Owner, together with his younger brother Jacques (*q.v.*) and his sister, of the Hotel St. George. Was also actively engaged in various business interests until recently when his health broke down (early in 1952), and was chairman of the Algiers Employers' Association. The two Guiauchains had a British mother and are very pro-British.

34. Harbi Haoues.
Aged 52. Moslem landowner and farmer. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly for a constituency in the Department of Constantine. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly, 1951–52.

35. Ibazizen, Maître.
Moslem barrister. Frequently takes up cases on behalf of Nationalists.

36. Imbert, Dr. Marc.
Very pro-British. Invariably arranges hockey matches when Her Majesty's ships visit Algiers. Has flown his hockey team to Malta and Gibraltar for return matches.

37. Justrabo, René.
Aged about 35 years. Born at Mascara (Algeria). Studied at the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs at Oran and qualified as a teacher. Mayor of Sidi Bel Abbès and Communist delegate for a constituency of the Department of Oran to the Algerian Assembly.

38. Lafont, Professor A.
Professor in charge of the gynaecological department of the Faculty of Medicine, Algiers.

39. Laquière, Raymond.
President (1952–53). Aged 71 years. Born at Saint Eugène, suburb of Algiers. Belongs to an old Algerian family with a distinguished military record. Studied law at Algiers University. Admitted to Algiers Bar. Entered politics about 1920, when he was elected Counsellor of the Department of Algiers and Mayor of Saint Eugène. Was Deputy for Algiers, 1928–32. Elected delegate to the Algerian Assembly when it was formed in 1948 and became its first President. Holds the Croix de Guerre for distinguished service in the Great War, and is an Officer of the Legion of Honour. Re-elected President of the Algerian Assembly on 7th May, 1952. Is liked and respected by most parties. M. Laquière is genial and friendly, and called on Her Majesty's Consul-General a few days after his re-election as President of the Assembly.

40. Lavaysse, Paul.
Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Aged about 55. Served in the Great War after which he entered Prefectorial Service. Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Governor-General in 1940. Is now in charge of Administration at the Prefecture. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

41. Lecornu, Bernard.
Préfet of Constantine. Aged about 42 years. Entered the French Home Civil Service in 1933 and served in various posts in France as Chef de Cabinet to the Préfet and as Sous-Préfet. Sous-Préfet of St. Nazaire, 1942, and Préfet of the Department of Correze in 1943. Was closely linked with the Resistance Movement and finally relieved of his duties by the Vichy Government, when he went underground until the arrival of the Allied armies. Was subsequently appointed Préfet of the Hautes Alpes, then of the Doubs Department, and, finally, of Constantine in December 1951. Holds the Médaille de la Résistance, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

42. Lefevre-Paul, Maître Jules.
A leading member of the Algiers Bar and former *Batonnier*. Was sometime legal adviser to Her Majesty's Consulate-General.

43. Léonard, Roger.
The Governor-General. Aged 53 years. Born at Bordeaux. Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws. Served in the Great War. Entered the French Civil Service as Chef de Cabinet of the Préfet of the Department of Gironde in 1921. In July 1940 was relieved of his duties as Directeur du Contentieux de la Justice Militaire for not having carried out certain instructions from the Vichy Government. Played an important part in the Resistance Movement. After the war was appointed Préfet of the Department of Seine-et-Oise, and, in May 1947, Préfet de Police of Paris. Is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour and holds the Croix de Guerre, 1939–45. Assumed office as Governor-General of Algeria, May 1951.
M. Léonard is married. His wife is an attractive lady of about 40 and a charming hostess. They have three children, the eldest a boy of 16.

M. Léonard has already displayed considerable activity in becoming acquainted with various parts of Algeria and with the political and economic problems of the country, and frequently travels back and forth between Algiers and Paris. He appears, however, to lack the statesman-like qualities of his predecessor, M. Naegelen, and has so far failed to win the general popularity enjoyed by the latter. His public speeches are good, but delivered with a lack of feeling.

44. Leynaud, Mgr. Augustin.
Aged about 85 years. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Algiers. A venerable and kindly prelate, respected by everyone. Is pro-British and showed his feeling by sending a representative to the Memorial Service at the English Church for His late Majesty, King George VI.

45. L'Hostis, Jean.
Engineer. Importer of heavy industrial machinery and mining equipment. Pro-British, and helped in the 1942 landings. Was awarded the M.C.

46. Mandon, Raoul.
Second Vice-President (1952–53). Aged 64. Engineer by profession. Wounded in the Great War. Holds the Military Medal and the Croix de Guerre, and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly for the City of Constantine. Was Third Vice-President, 1951–52.

47. Mathiot, André.
Aged about 45. Wealthy and prominent in Algiers society; mainly interested in horses and racing. Is president of the Societé des Concours Hippiques d'Alger.

48. Maurel, G.
A leading car-dealer. Is pro-British and proved very helpful in the 1942 landings.

49. Mercier, Gustave.
Aged about 75. A prominent old gentleman in Algiers society with a wide range of interests who has been somewhat of a pioneer in the history of French Algeria.

50. Mesbah Salah, Maître.
First Vice-President (1952–53). Aged 39 years. Born at Gueuzet (Algeria) of an old Moslem family of magistrates in the district of Sétif. Studied at Algiers and at the University of Toulouse. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly in 1949–50, and is Rapporteur of the Committee on the Moslem Cult. Is *Batonnier* of the Sétif Bar.

51. Messali, Hadj.
Aged about 54 years. Born at Tlemcen (Algeria). Served in the army during the Great War, after which he remained in France, working and studying at the Paris School for Oriental Languages and at the Sorbonne. Later frequented revolutionary circles, and after working for a short time with the Communist Party, decided to leave it and concentrate on the "liberation" of Moslem nationals in Algeria. From 1929–34 his subversive activities led several times to his arrest and imprisonment by the French authorities. In January 1936 he took refuge in Geneva where he stayed with the Emir Chekib Arslan, who appears to have greatly influenced his political outlook. After the formation of the French Popular Front Government, Messali returned to France in June 1936, but again ran into difficulties as a result of his political activities. In March 1937 a group of Algerian Moslems in France founded the Parti du Peuple Algérien (P.P.A.), of which Messali was elected president. The party's work took him back to Algeria, for which he demanded dominion status and a freely elected Parliament. He was arrested in August 1937 at Algiers and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In the absence of its leader the P.P.A. continued its subversive activities. In August 1939, Messali was released from prison but was again arrested and detained until March 1941, when a military court sentenced him to 16 years hard labour. He was subsequently pardoned in 1943 by General Giraud. Since then the continual agitation for Algerian independence by Messali and his party have proved a source of anxiety to the French Government. The P.P.A. gradually became the M.T.L.D. (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Democratiques) of which Messali is the recognised leader, being looked upon by his followers as a kind of prophet. Early in 1952 Messali returned to Algiers from Paris after a protracted stay in Egypt and the Middle East, where, according to a statement made by him to his paper, the *Algérie Libre*, he had had many useful talks, particularly with a view to joint action before U.N.O. In April he was banned from the Department of Constantine for holding meetings in the eastern part of Algeria, and particularly in centres near the Algerian-Tunisian border. He was kept for a few days under house arrest at his residence near Algiers. On 14th May, disturbances broke out at Orléansville, when the police attempted to disperse a crowd of Messali's followers who had gathered to welcome him. The police opened fire and four demonstrators were killed. The same afternoon the Governor-General signed a paper expelling Messali Hadj from the three Departments of Algeria and the Southern Territories. Messali was immediately taken under escort by air to France and accommodated at the Hotel Terminus at Niort, in the Deux-Sèvres Department, where he has been ordered to remain.

52. Meynier, General O.
Retired. A leading personality in Algiers. President of the association known as Les Amis du Sahara, and of the Comité d'Organisation du Rallye Mediterannée/Le Cap.

53. Mezerna, Ahmed.
Chairman of the M.T.L.D. Nationalist Party and editor of *L'Algérie Libre*.

54. Nabal, Colonel Albert.
Secretary of the association Les Amis du Sahara. Is very pro-British and always willing to help British trans-Sahara travellers.

55. Perony, Yves.
Préfet of Oran. Assumed his present office, October 1951.

56. Perrier, Raoul.
Aged about 45. Managing director of La Dêpêche Quotidienne of Algiers.

57. Ribère, Marcel.
Educated at Constantine and Algiers University. Doctor of Pharmacy. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the Croix de Guerre and the Distinguished Service Cross. Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

58. Robe, Eugene.
Aged about 65 years. One of the largest shareholders of La Dêpêche Quotidienne.

59. Roche, Tony.
Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Aged 38 years. Was in the teaching profession before the war and was appointed in November 1944, Sous-Préfet at Châteaudun. Appointed Secretary-General of the Prefecture in August 1949. Transferred in April 1952 to Algiers, where he is in charge of security, police and visa questions at the Prefecture. Holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour (military). Speaks good English and has visited the United Kingdom. Married.

60. Rogues, André-Jean.
Deputy Secretary-General. Aged 49. He served throughout his career in the Prefectorial Service. Was some time Préfet of the Department of Lozère. Assumed his present office in 1950. Genial and friendly, M. Rogues is a hard worker and a bachelor, and is not seen much at social functions.

61. Saiah Abdelkader.
Aged 63. Born at Orléansville (Algeria). Member of an old Algerian (Moslem) family established in the Orléansville district for the past five centuries. His grandfather, Saiah Si Henni, was supporter of the French occupation from the beginning, and cooperated with Marshal Bugeaud. Saiah Abdelkader played a leading part in municipal and departmental administration, and was financial delegate to the Government-General. Officer of the Legion of Honour, 1920. Counsellor of the Republic, 1946. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly since 1948, when he was elected Vice-President. President of the Assembly, 1949–50, and again in 1951–52. Is pro-French and held in high esteem by the French authorities, and for that reason looked upon by extremists as a French puppet.

62. Sala, Vice-Admiral Antoine, C.B.E., D.S.O.
Senior Naval Officer in Algeria and Commander-in-Chief of French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean.
Aged 54. Entered the French Naval College in 1916. As capitaine de vaisseau was head of the French Naval Mission in the United Kingdom in 1943. Promoted to Rear-Admiral and appointed Naval Attaché in London, 1944. Commanded a Cruiser Squadron in 1949. Promoted Vice-Admiral. Appointed Naval Commander-in-Chief in Morocco and later Préfet Maritime at Toulon, which post he occupied immediately before his appointment to Algiers at the end of 1951. Admiral Sala is obviously an able officer. He has tact and a pleasant manner. He is married and both he and Mme. Sala, who have spent a total of nine years in London, speak fluent English and are very pro-British. He is on excellent terms with the former British Naval Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Station, but has not met Admiral Lord Mountbatten since the latter's arrival at Malta. Promoted to rank of Grand Officer in the Order of the Legion of Honour, April 1952.

63. Schiaffino, Louis.
Aged about 45 years. Wealthiest shipowner in Algeria. Owner of the Schiaffino Line, with many other interests centred around the port of Algiers. President of the Chamber of Commerce of Algiers and of the Région Economique (federation of the Chambers of Commerce of Algeria). Very active and chiefly pro-Schiaffino.

64. Seiberras, Georges.
Owner of the largest cinema circuit in French North Africa. Pro-British and very helpful.

65. Sorensen, Christian, O.B.E.
A leading member of a French family of Scandinavian descent established in Algiers, and a partner in the prominent wine firm of P. Sorensen & Cie. Played an important part in the Resistance Movement and was at least once parachuted into France. His wife is an American citizen.

66. Sportisse, Mme. Alice.
Communist deputy for the Department of Oran to the French National Assembly.

67. Tamzali, Mustapha.
Aged about 70 years. Senator for the Department of Algiers and one of the wealthiest Moslem industrialists, exporters (chiefly olive oil) and property owners in Algiers. Has long-standing business connexions with the United Kingdom.

68. Tiar Mohammed.
An important Moslem industrialist at Algiers.

69. Trémeaud, André.
Préfet of Algiers. Aged 49. Born at Gex. After taking his degree at the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, entered the French Home Civil Service in 1932. Served in various posts, assisted in the Resistance Movement during the war, and managed to elude the Gestapo, being Sous-Préfet of Saumur at the time of the Liberation. Was appointed Préfet of the Department of Vienne in October 1944, and subsequently Préfet of the Departments of Haute Vienne (1947) and Loiret (1949). Appointed Préfet at Algiers at the end of December 1951. M. Trémeaud, who is married, is pro-British and has visited the United Kingdom. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

70. Urbani, Henri.
Deputy Secretary-General for Economic Affairs.
Aged 50 years. A former barrister at the Court of Appeal, after which he entered Government Service. Discharges his heavy duties, which involve considerable contact with the Algerian Assembly, with tact and ability, and is generally liked. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

CHAPTER V.—TUNISIA

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1022/11 No. 29

NATIONALIST DISTURBANCES IN TUNISIA

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (Received 21st January)

(No. 40) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) *21st January, 1952.*

My telegram No. 38: Tunisia.

Quai d'Orsay claim to have convincing evidence that the Nationalists were deliberately provoking trouble with a view to causing bloodshed and thus attractiing the attention of the world to the position in Tunisia. Extracts from speeches by Bourguiba tending to confirm this are published in to-day's press. The decision to arrest the Nationalists was taken, in the absence of a regular French Government by a Ministerial Committee which included M. Pleven, Robert Schuman, Maurice Schumann, Bidault and Edgar Fauje among others.

2. The Quai d'Orsay say that they did not expect much popular reaction to the detention of Bourguiba and others, that the actual reaction fell below their expectations, that the situation is now completely calm, and that they believe they have enough troops available to ensure control of the country.

3. On the other hand the Bey for the last 48 hours has been refusing to see the French Resident-General on the grounds that he is ill. The Resident-General's intention, when and if he succeeds in seeing the Bey, is to demand the dismissal of the present Tunisian Government. The French believe that the Bey's illness is diplomatic, and that he is unwilling to dismiss his Government because he fears it would cost him his popularity in the country. They believe that there would be no difficulty in forming a respectable new Government if the present one were dimissed, though of course there would be no further question of participation by the Neo-Destour.

4. The French have not yet made up their minds what action they should take if the Bey continues to be recalcitrant. They have the means to force him to take action, and if he is difficult his younger brother is said to be more than willing to step into his shoes. On the other hand the Quai are not sure that drastic action of this kind is necessary or desirable, and some of them envisage the possibility of merely letting it be known that the present Government has lost French confidence and that France will carry on the Government of Tunisia in spite of this.

5. The situation is complicated by the parliamentary situation here, since the Socialist Party have close connexions with the Neo-Destour and are furious about his arrest. Present intentions are to try to separate the two questions by promising to deal with an interpellation on Tunisia on Thursday provided the new Government is accepted to-morrow. It is hoped that in this way Socialist votes in favour of the Government can be obtained to-morrow, while on Thursday the Government may receive sufficient Right-wing votes on its Tunisian policy not to be overthrown. This solution is perhaps a little too clever to work.

6. The Quai asked us what the attitude of His Majesty's Government was likely to be, and in particular what line we were taking with the Pakistanis. We told them that, as Sir William Strang had already informed the French Ambassador, we were trying to persuade the Pakistanis not to raise the question at the United Nations, but that if the question did in fact come up we should support the French. The French have had some indications that the Pakistanis were anxious to avoid committing themselves on this matter before the vote about Kashmir and before the conclusion of the present Franco-Pakistani trade negotiations.

JF 1013/3

No. 30

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA

1st November, 1951–31st January, 1952

Consul-General Calvert to Mr. Eden. (*Received* 18*th February*)

(No. 26. Restricted) *Tunis,*
Sir, *7th February,* 1952.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political review of events in Tunisia for the three months ended 31st January, 1952.

2. Copies of this despatch and enclosure are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat.

I have, &c.
A. S. CALVERT.

Enclosure in No. 30

Political Review of Events in Tunisia

No. 1 *for the Period* 1*st November,* 1951–31*st January,* 1952

General

The superficial calm in the political situation in Tunisia, noted in the last review, continued with some qualifications until mid-December, but thereafter deteriorated suddenly and indeed during the second half of January catastrophically. The Prime Minister, Mohamed Chenik, and three ministerial colleagues remained on in Paris through November and much of December in apparently fruitless attendance on the Pleven Government, awaiting a reply to the Bey's note of 31st October, of which they had been the bearers, whilst Nationalist opinion in this country grew increasingly anxious and impatient. The reply received at last on 15th December delighted French *colon* interests in Tunisia and outraged even moderate Nationalist opinion by what was held to be its rigid unyielding character. The French Government announced a change of Resident-General, M. Perillier's term of office coming to an end with the Old Year and that of his successor, M. Jean de Hauteclocque, beginning with the new. Chenik and his colleagues returned to the protectorate on 24th December, after some three months' absence, to report to the Bey and to concert their next move. Habib Bourguiba reappeared here on 2nd January to indulge in oratory of a kind soon judged by the Administration to be dangerous. The arrival of the new Resident-General, on 13th January, almost chimed with the departure of two Tunisian Ministers for Paris to bring Franco-Tunisian differences to the attention of the Security Council of the United Nations. A few days later, on 18th January, followed the arrest of Bourguiba and a number of other leaders, both Nationalist and Communist, and their removal to distant points in the Regency. This led at once to disorders in many parts of the country, to strikes maintained albeit at times only partially for ten days or more, to bloody clashes between rioters and police and military, and to some acts of sabotage. At the end of the period under review, order had been largely restored by a reinforced garrison, but the political differences remained unyielding and Nationalist opinion still tense. It was not surprising that one Arabic language newspaper described the events of the last few weeks as " the gravest since the establishment of the protectorate."

French Administration Policy, Proposals for Constitutional Reform

2. M. Chenik's attempts to seek to negotiate in Paris over Franco-Tunisian differences was due to the hope that more understanding would be encountered, and more progress made, in the French than in the Tunisian capital. But his prolonged stay in Paris with occasional conversations, never amounting to negotiation, at the Quai d'Orsay could only have disappointed the hope, whilst in Tunisia it inspired in Nationalist circles a growing nervousness and tension at the uncertainty of the outcome. There was, in addition, much uneasiness at the strenuous activities of French-vested interests in Tunisia to exert on the French Government all their influence to halt reform and reaffirm the French presence in the protectorate.

3. When it came the French reply of 15th December was greeted with approval by the French in Tunisia as " a victory for good sense " and " a solution of wisdom," but by the Nationalist press here was denounced as a victory for *colon* interests, a violation of the international conventions defining Franco-Tunisian relations and a tightening of ties, rather than the reverse, between the two countries, with co-sovereignty writ large between the lines. Habib Bourguiba, at Paris, declared that the reply had brought about a crisis such as that of 1934–35. A three-day general strike was held on 21st, 22nd and 23rd December in protest. The note in particular asserted (*a*) the importance of the work achieved by France in Tunisia; (*b*) the necessity of making a reality the reforms of 8th February, 1951, including municipal reform; (*c*) the continuance of the presence of Frenchmen in the political institutions of Tunisia and the *lien définitif* between the two countries; (*d*) budgetary provisions and the Grand Conseil; and proposed (*e*) the appointment of a Mixed Commission to examine reform of representation. The Tunisian Ministers considered the note as a rejection of their claims.

4. With the return of M. Perillier to Tunis to take leave of his post, the return of the Prime Minister and his colleagues, followed early in the New Year by that of Bourguiba and eventually by the arrival of the new Resident-General, Tunis became again more of a scene of action in the political differences between the two parties. The change of Resident-General took place without notable reaction. The French *colons* were believed to have little regret at the departure of M. Perillier, whom they thought too conciliatory, and the Nationalists affected to attach no importance to a change of person if no political change to their liking were involved. M. Perillier gave a farewell reception on 31st December which the Tunisian Ministry attended, whilst they absented themselves from the official New Year's Day reception of M. de Boisseson the following day. M. de Hauteclocque's arrival, some days after the departure of M. Perillier, was by sea in a light cruiser, a mode of arrival for new Residents-General which has not been used in recent years and which, with the attendant ceremonial at the port, guards of honour, fly-past of military planes, &c., did not fail to catch the attention of Nationalist commentators. At the audience with the Bey immediately upon M. de Hauteclocque's arrival, His Highness, echoing the prevailing Nationalist feeling over the change, is reported to have said that it was not a change of men that this poor country needed.

5. Towards the end of December the suggestion of placing the Franco-Tunisian question before the United Nations was gaining increasing support among all Nationalists, who seemed not discouraged by the result of the attempt to put the Moroccan problem before the international body. Probably they were stimulated by the spectacle of the attainment during the last days of 1951 of independence by Libya through the United Nations. Bourguiba, who was a strong advocate of reference, was reported in a speech at Monastir on 8th January to have given the French Government an ultimatum of forty-eight hours or else—reference to the United Nations. Three days later he declared that the Tunisian Ministers were at that moment taking the decision to carry the Tunisian question to the United Nations. Nevertheless the departure for Paris of the two Ministers, Saleh Ben Youssef, Minister of Justice, and Badra, Minister of Social Affairs, who left on the afternoon of the day of M. de Hauteclocque's arrival, came as a general surprise as did the Prime Minister's announcement that they carried an " unanimous " appeal from his Ministry to the United Nations. This development led to strong representations to the Bey by the French Government, the Resident-General presenting on 15th January a note stated to contain the three points: (*a*) the hope that the Bey did not approve the reference to the United Nations (the document carried by the Ministers bore the signature of the Prime Minister but not the seal of the Bey); (*b*) a request for the withdrawal of the complaint and recall of the two Ministers; and (*c*) a statement that matters could no longer be discussed with the Chenik Ministry. Thereafter the Bey was said to be indisposed and contacts were not resumed between Residency and Palace until 23rd January when the Bey's eldest son, Prince Chadly Bey, visited the Resident-General to suggest that the demand for the dismissal of the Chenik Ministry be not pressed. The following day M. de Hauteclocque had an audience of two hours with the Bey from which little of significance was reported. Disorders had already broken out (as will be described below) some days earlier and at this meeting the Bey declined, it was said, to make an appeal himself for calm, but agreed to be associated with one the Resident-General was making by radio that evening. During the remaining days of January, two senior officials from Paris paid a brief visit to Tunis, but were not received by the Bey. After their departure, however, the Resident-General, in a short

audience, handed a note, contents undisclosed, from the French Government to the Bey. The political situation, therefore, at the end of the period under review continued to be one of impasse.

Relations between local Political Leaders and Parties and the French Administration

6. The deterioration of the political situation in January was accompanied by serious disorders. The first outbreaks occurred at Beja, Bizerta and Ferryville on 15th, 16th and 17th January, and with the arrest of Bourguiba and five other Nationalist leaders on the night of 17th–18th January, spread to Tunis and in succeeding days to many other centres in northern and central Tunisia. Arrested at the same time as the Neo-Destourian leaders were six Communist leaders. All were removed to distant points in the protectorate, the Neo-Destourians to the small port of Tabarka on the northern coast (where they were said to be comfortably lodged and where Bourguiba was allowed to give press interviews) and the Communists to Remada, a small settlement in the far south. The arrest was described in a Residency-General communiqué as a measure designed to put an end to the systematic agitation which since the Resident-General's arrival had tended to impede his mission of conciliation. Bourguiba, since his return from Paris, had delivered a number of speeches calculated to disturb the peace. On the day he arrived he addressed a gathering outside the Palace at Hammam-Lif, after he had been received by the Bey, in words to the effect that they would soon be called upon to do their duty. "Be ready," he exhorted his audience, to which they replied: "We are ready."

7. The immediate effect of the arrests was far otherwise than to end the agitation for demonstrations, which frequently resulted in clashes with the police and military with loss of life to both sides, looting and acts of sabotage became serious daily occurrences. Strikes were called and though they never attained the size of a general strike, being limited to the cessation of work in the Arab quarters of the towns, closing of shops, markets, &c., they continued off and on for ten days. Military reinforcements were sent from France and after 26th January a relative calm, broken by minor incidents and acts of sabotage, was established. During the worst phase of the disorders letters of protest against the French policy in Tunisia were left at my residence at La Marsa by groups of demonstrators, the largest being a body of some 300, who were orderly in demeanour and who left the grounds, where they had assembled, quietly after their letter had been delivered. It was asserted that they had been prevented by police and military guards in the vicinity of the consulate-general in the city from lodging the protests at the offices. The United States consul-general was the object of similar demonstrations at his residence at Carthage.

8. At the end of the period under review order had been largely restored and in some areas, particularly in Cap Bon, a careful search for arms and ammunition and for those suspected in connexion with acts of violence of the previous days was in progress. There were reports that this military and police action had been carried out in some places with excessive violence, and the Prime Minister sent his own representatives to make independent enquiry in the districts concerned. Calm may indeed have been restored but as the political deadlock remained the tenseness of the atmosphere continued with little relief. Bourguiba declared in a press interview at Tabarka that, if no satisfactory result were reached in the most recent Franco-Tunisian contacts, the demonstrations would begin again. This was, he said, France's last chance. These were confident words for a leader to use and it would remain to be seen, should Nationalist leaders decide to pursue an all-out campaign, how far they could continue to hold their followers to the task. The Tunisian character has often been rated as milder, less aggressive, more submissive and pliant than that of the Moroccan and Algerian and the riots and bloodshed of the past weeks have seemed sadly out of character. The *Commandant Supérieur des Troupes en Tunisie*, General Garbay, told me that in his view the leading spirits among the Nationalist demonstrators were few in number, that in country districts their presence was essential if manifestations were to be organised and that, in fact, when they had gone on to some other locality enthusiasm quickly died away. However that may be, it is certain that Nationalist feeling has been latterly unusually united as it has been forceful in expression. Little has been heard of the extremer Nationalists of the Vieux Destour—they, too, sent a delegation to Paris, led by their president, Saleh Farhat, to seek the sympathies of the Security Council, but it played a minor rôle to that of the Tunisian Ministers.

Communist Activities

9. These were negligible during November and December, but in January party members took an active part in the disorders and manifestations. As has been mentioned earlier six leading Communists, including Mohammad Ennafar, Maurice Nizard and Dr. Sliman ben Sliman, were arrested on the night of 17th–18th January, and removed to Remada in the south of the Regency. Communists had taken part in particular in the disturbances at Bizerta and Ferryville, the naval dockyards of the latter place being one of the main centres of Communist influence. Later it was believed, according to a senior police officer, that they had been concerned with a number of cases of sabotage.

French North Africa

10. There has been continued interest in Morocco though it has been given less attention than in the previous quarter owing to preoccupation with the Tunisian question.

Britain and the Commonwealth

11. Britain's general election was followed with interest, as were the preparations for the tour of Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh to Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand. Britain's difficulties in Egypt were given considerable place in the press, the vernacular organs in particular expressing strong sympathy with the Egyptians. During the disorders in Tunisia, rioters were reported to have cried "Long live Egypt!" General Garbay, the *Commandant Supérieur des Troupes en Tunisie*, who told me this, added that had the riots in Cairo gone on for longer he would have feared repercussions in sympathy in this country. However, public interest here has been concentrated on the affairs of Tunisia and, unlike the previous three months, this consulate-general received no letters of protest about Egypt during the period under report.

Labour and Trades Unions

12. There have been no serious labour disputes during the quarter. In the political troubles the trades unions played on the whole a discreet part. The *Union Générale des Travailleurs de Tunisie*, the *Union Générale de l'Agriculture Tunisienne* and certain sections of the *Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* participated in the three-day general strike of 21st–23rd December, but refrained from associating themselves with the prolonged strike of 16th–26th January. They were, however, at the end of January calling upon their membership to join on 1st February, "Tunisia Day," in a general strike called by Nationalists and trades unions to rally international opinion in support of the Tunisian struggle.

A. S. CALVERT.

7th February, 1952.

JF 1015/19

No. 31

POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Consul-General Calvert to Mr. Eden. (Received 26th March)

(No. 17) *Tunis,*
(Telegraphic) *26th March, 1952.*

Situation in Tunisia developed rapidly since yesterday when Resident-General informed the Bey of receipt of instructions from French Government and requested change of Government prior to opening of negotiations. The Bey later in the day replied demurring and asking matter be referred Paris.

2. At midnight 25th–26th March Resident-General placed responsibility for maintenance of law and order in hands of G.O.C. Troops and reinforced state of military law. Prime Minister and three Ministers taken in custody to Kebili in South Tunisia; one Minister choosing to remain in own residence, a choice offered to all Ministers. Press reports that Neo Destour leaders, including Bourguiba, removed from Tabarka to Remada in South.

3. Security measures introduced to-day include curfew from 2100 to 0530 hours in all townships, but not in country districts. Telegraphic communications subject to control, including out telegrams requiring visa. Telephonic service interrupted until 1400 hours when normal service restored.

4. Radio announcement by Resident-General this morning details shortcomings of Chenik Ministry.

(i) On day of his arrival January two Ministers departed to lay complaint before United Nations.
(ii) Combative attitude against French.

(iii) Administrative incompetency in that

(*a*) between October 1951 and March 1952 only one Council of Ministers held;

(*b*) sixty-seven decrees held up without being submitted for Beylical seal;

(iv) Even to this day omission to present for Beylical seal the decree appointing Resident-General the Foreign Minister of the Bey. In addition, this bad faith and inertia has in effect encouraged the demonstrations and acts of sabotage which have characterised last two and half months; more recently the Ministry has not uttered one word of discouragement to extension to schools of campaign of hatred and discord. In order that plan of reform, which he had prepared with approval of French Government, might have reasonable chance of success, it was necessary to have new Ministry. Accordingly certain members of old Ministry would be placed *en éloignement*; and the Bey had been asked to appoint new Prime Minister having his confidence and who would be able to collaborate loyally with the Residency.

JF 1041/72 No. 32

POLITICAL SITUATION

Consul-General Calvert to Mr. Eden. (*Received 28th March*)

(No. 20) *Tunis,*
(Telegraphic) *28th March, 1952.*

Resident-General accompanied by two representatives of French President had audience described as cordial of Bey this morning, when proposals for reform were presented. Bey has appointed former Prime Minister Salaheddin Baccouche to form Ministry, which is expected to examine reforms with mixed commission of which first meeting to take place 24th April. Bey is to launch appeal this evening to people of Tunisia for calm and for resumption of work and collaboration. Resident-General after audience gave press interview which was later broadcast.

2. Security situation remains quiet.

JF 1041/96 No. 33

PROPOSED UNITED NATIONS DISCUSSIONS ON TUNISIA

Sir G. Jebb to Mr. Eden. (*Received 5th April*)

United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations,

(No. 171) *New York,*
(Telegraphic) *4th April, 1952.*

My telegram No. 166: Tunisia.

When Security Council met on 4th April provisional agenda consisted of Tunisian item which referred to letters to President of Council from eleven States (these letters were in terms similar to the Pakistan delegate's letter). Hoppenot (France), intervened when the question of adopting the agenda was put to the council (text of speech by bag). He took the line that no dispute existed between Tunisia and France and that there was no question for the council to consider since the French Government were in agreement with the Bey and were in a position to negotiate with him. He was not proposing that the matter was outside the competence of the council but that there was nothing to discuss. The decisions of the Resident-General which had caused a change of Government had been fully justified by the paralysis of administration over several months and because the Ministers concerned had prevented any progress in negotiation with the Bey. The feeling of crisis and the increase in violence in Tunisia over the past few months had been largely caused by the favourable reception which excessive demands by former Tunisian Ministers had been given by representatives of the Arab and Asian States.

2. Santacruz (Chile), spoke in favour of the inclusion of the Tunisian item in the agenda. He would not express delegation's view on the question of the competence of the council until it had been discussed.

3. Bokhari, speaking as the representative of Pakistan, then became the eloquent advocate of the eleven nations. He rehearsed these nations' efforts in Paris to convey to the French Government their concern about the situation in Tunisia. He claimed that the utmost restraint had been exercised there. He spoke of concentration camps and other forms of repression in Tunisia culminating in the arrest of the Cabinet and the appointment of a stooge, Baccouche, as Prime Minister. Baccouche had been unable yet to find any Tunisians to form a new Cabinet. If the French started negotiations now they would be negotiating with their own puppets. He appealed to them to face facts and to deal with those who truly represented the feelings of Tunisians. He realised that the agenda would probably fail to be adopted owing to the lack of seven positive votes and deplored such silencing of a large section of the United Nations itself.

4. Delegate of Brazil said he would vote in favour of the adoption of the agenda without prejudice to the question of competence. He referred to the Persian oil case and to the line taken then by Lacoste (see my telegram No. 105).

5. Council adjourned without fixing a time for the next meeting.

JF 1013/6 No. 34

POLITICAL REVIEW, FEBRUARY–APRIL 1952

Mr. Acting Consul-General Williams to Mr. Eden. (*Received 10th May*)

(No. 48. Restricted) *Tunis,*
5th May, 1952.

General

The January disorders and sabotages in the Protectorate, noted in the last Review, continued uninterruptedly during the early part of the period under review. An effective general strike took place on 1st February, "Tunisia Day," and on the 6th February the Resident-General left Tunis for Paris, where he saw the President of the Republic, Prime Minister Faure and Quai d'Orsay officials; he returned to Tunis on the 22nd February allegedly with the instructions of the French Government. The political deadlock between the Tunisian Government and the Residency-General continued, even after the formation of the Pinay Ministry of the 6th March, as did the acts of sabotage throughout the Protectorate with some loss of life. Meantime, Arabic and Asiatic countries were preparing to raise the question of Tunisia at the forthcoming Security Council meeting of the United Nations. It would appear that the Resident-General had a stormy interview with the Bey (who was accompanied by his Ministers) on the 25th March. Suddenly on the night of the 25/26th March, Prime Minister Chenik and his Ministers were "removed" from their residences and taken to South Tunisia, military law was proclaimed and responsibility, under the Resident-General, for the preservation of law and order confided to General Garbay, General Officer Commanding Troops in Tunisia. The Resident-General announced publicly—and also gave similar details through the Minister Plenipotentiary at the special meeting of the Consular Corps at Tunis called on the morning of the 26th March—that his action was the result of the shortcomings of the Chenik Ministry, (which were detailed and which included the sending abroad of two Ministers to lay a complaint before the United Nations), and that the Bey had been asked to appoint a new Prime Minister who would collaborate loyally with the Residency. (A few days after these events were published the communications exchanged between the Bey and the President of the French Republic, viz., a telegram sent by the former on the 25th or 26th March and the latter's reply of the 27th March, brought to the Bey by the personal representatives of the President, appealing to the Bey for collaboration with France and the Resident-General.) The Bey appointed Salaheddine Baccouche Prime Minister by decree on the 28th March, and immediately issued an appeal to the people of Tunisia to be calm and to resume work and collaboration. On the 28th March the Resident-General also issued a long declaration (which was later broadcast) summarising the events of the last few months and expressing hopes that the situation would now improve. It was not until the 1st April that the new Prime Minister issued a communiqué containing some details of suggestions for a plan of reform, which it was stated had been approved at a meeting between the Bey and the Resident-General on the 28th March, and which were to be submitted to a Mixed

Commission on the 24th April. At the New York meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations on the 4th April the provisional agenda, on which appeared the Tunisian item, was discussed, including letters to the President of the Council from eleven Arab and Asiatic States, and an eloquent speech on behalf of the eleven States by Mr. Bokhari, the representative of Pakistan. No decision was reached by the Council before adjournment. Meantime, manifestations by Nationalist sympathisers and acts of sabotage, by possibly sympathisers and probably by lawless and Communist elements, continued throughout Tunisia, where opinion was reliably credited with being increasingly dissatisfied with French control measures, including arrests and censorship; and whose new Ministry, under Prime Minister Baccouche was not formed until an announcement on the 12th April of the formal appointment by decree on the 10th of April of six other Tunisian Ministers. In the announcement the Prime Minister stated that the rôle of his Ministry would be essentially administrative with a view to the establishment of peace and concord in the country. It was added that a request would be made to the French to postpone the first meeting of the Mixed Commission due to meet the 24th April, the names of whose Tunisian members would be presented to the Bey when the Prime Minister would have completed his consultations. On the 14th April at the Security Council meeting in New York, the Tunisian item failed to obtain enough votes to be included on the agenda. On the 17th April the Resident-General again left for Paris for consultations and returned on the 23rd April. The 30th April arrived without any news relating to the formation of the Mixed Commission, albeit it was freely rumoured that many Tunisians had refused to consider offers by the Prime Minister of appointment as Tunisian members.

2. It is officially reported that on the 25th April the numbers of people in "*camps d'éloignement*" were 1,315; and that about another 1,000 people were in separate custody awaiting trial before military tribunals.

French Administration policy, proposals for Constitutional Reform

3. It would appear from the above that during the period under review policy was less evident than events. It is true that the Resident-General, on more than one occasion before the 26th March, had stated privately that it was essential that the Chenik Government should be replaced. It was also indicated separately by him in a public press conference that the suggestions announced on the 1st April for a plan of reform to be submitted to the Mixed Commission, had indeed been approved by the Council of Ministers at Paris on the 22nd March. The announcement of the 1st April stated that the Bey entirely approved the principles of the programme of reform. The programme which is to be submitted for consideration to a Mixed Commission whose first meeting was planned to take place on the 24th April, rests on three main props:

(i) Beylical sovereignty is formally recognised;
(ii) the programme covers all Tunisian institutions;
(iii) it leads Tunisia, in its several phases, towards internal autonomy while respecting the rights and interests of France and Frenchmen.

During the first phase, the programme of reform of the Tunisian Government will aim at giving heads of the administration complete freedom in the running of departments rather than at handing over to Tunisian Ministers departments now controlled by French directors; the Bey in the exercise of his powers, will be assisted by an all-Tunisian legislative council of some thirty members, at first appointed by the sovereign but ultimately to be elected; for budgetary and financial matters, a financial commission, half French and half Tunisian, will be created, in principle by election; there will be forms of local government, a district council will vote on the local budget under the Caid, and in towns municipal councils will be elected with French representation, which in the larger cities will be equal to Tunisian. While the first phase of the programme of reform will be instituted as rapidly as possible, a second phase is expected to begin five years after the commencement of the first phase.

4. The Mixed Commission has not yet been appointed.

Relations between local political leaders and parties and the French Administration

5. As has been indicated, the relations between the members of the Neo-Destour Chenik Ministry and the French Administration were so discordant as to lead to the arrest ("*éloignement*") of almost all the Neo-Destour political leaders as from the 26th March. The arrested Ministers were transferred from Kebili, a disagreeable inland spot where they were taken on the 26th March, to the island of Djerba on the 10th April, where it is stated they are comfortably lodged in a hotel; and where they received visitors.

6. Most, if not all, of the Communist leaders in Tunisia who were arrested in January at the same time as Habib Bourguiba, are still in custody.

7. Bourguiba is still, it is understood, under detention at Remada in the far south. It is rumoured that he is now kept in close custody without any—as previously—contact with outside, and that he is to come up for trial in due course.

8. The new Prime Minister, Baccouche, is not a leader of a political party; his Ministers, likewise, do not appear to have political affiliations. Since its appointment, the Ministry appears to have been concentrating with fervour on its announced task of administration, and to be having not unpleasant relations with the French adminstration. Prime Minister Baccouche, it is said in spite of being urged (some people say goaded) by the Resident-General, seems to be unable to discover Tunisians who are willing to accept appointments to the Mixed Commission.

9. On the whole, it would appear that relations between the French administration and Tunisians of all grades have tended to worsen in the period under review. The later were deeply affected by the military security measures including the reports (whose authenticity was denied by the French authorities some weeks after the event) of alleged brutal police operations in the Cap-Bon area towards the end of January, by the "*éloignement*" of the Chenik Ministers and other arrests, by the control by censorship of publication of opinion, and by the economic disturbances resulting from sabotage acts, strikes and the general situation. (It should be remembered that, intrinsically, it is the urban situation in Tunisia which is affected. For instance, recent exensive motor tours through country districts and visits to *colon* farms have shown that the life of the people in the country districts seems to be wholly unaffected by the events of the last three months.) An instance which contributed, within its limits, to the deterioration in the general situation is the complete cessation, since January, of all the football matches in all towns in Tunisia under the auspices of the semi-professional fooball leagues; the scores of thousands of enthusiasts cannot have failed to visit their disappointment and displeasure on "authority." In an admittedly different sphere, the deterioration, as a result of political events, in the economic well-being of business of all sorts, whether wholesale or retail, has been serious. That there has occurred a natural counterpoise to all this is certainly fortunate, (it has also produced a *bon-mot* in some circles that M. Baccouche has providential influence). It is a fact that climatic conditions in the Protectorate in the period under review have been exceptionally favourable, with the result that agricultural crops and husbandry are uncommonly advanced and plentiful, a state of affairs which has tended to neutralise to some extent an economic situation which otherwise might easily have had more serious consequences.

Communist Activities

10. In spite of the arrest in January, at the same time as the Nationalist leader Bourguiba, of several Communist leaders, it is difficult to believe that Communist activity has had influence in directing the alleged combativeness against the French of the Nationalist Chenik Government, the reference of the Tunisian question to the United Nations, and the acts of sabotage and disorder in Tunisia which have characterised the months under review. It is known, however, that responsible French officials in Tunis are convinced that Communist sympathisers have aligned themselves with Neo-Destour terrorists in recent acts of sabotage and destruction, and that the practical manufacture of bombs and other infernal instruments has been the work of local Communists. It is interesting, however, to note that whereas of yore the numbers and influence of the latter were reported to be more evidenced in Ferryville, the naval dockyard close to Bizerta, than elsewhere, quite recently French naval authority in the latter town discounted with some definiteness the influence in that neighbourhood of Communist activators.

French North Africa

11. Interest in Morocco and Algeria is almost completely overshadowed by the tense interest in Tunisian affairs.

Britain and the Commonwealth

12. The death of His late Majesty King George VI on the 6th February was learned with profound sorrow by all British subjects throughout Tunisia and also by the French

and Tunisian community who, without exception, took advantage of every occasion and opportunity to show and express their sympathy with the Royal Family and the British people in their bereavement. The presidents and other representatives of British societies called upon the Consul-General in Tunis (as did their colleagues in that place on the Vice-Consul in Sfax) and their messages of sympathy, and of devoted good wishes to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, were at their request forwarded home. The Resident-General and other officials of the French Republic similarly called in person, as did the representative of the Bey and the members of the Tunisian Government. On the 15th February, the day of the funeral, a Memorial Service was held at the Anglican Church of St. George conducted by the Venerable Archdeacon Dunbar, attended by the Minister Plenipotentiary (the Resident-General being absent in Paris), General Tahar Maoui representing the Bey, some hundreds of British (Maltese) subjects, the Prime Minister and all members in Tunisia of his Cabinet, and French officers and officials.

13. Mr. W. G. Hayter, Her Majesty's Minister in Paris, accompanied by Mrs. Hayter, was in Tunis from the 26th to the 29th February in the course of a tour of French North Africa. Mr. Hayter called on the Resident-General and also on the Bey, and Mr. and Mrs. Hayter were entertained to lunch by the Resident-General and Madame de Hauteclocque and to dinner by General Challe and Madame Challe.

14. H.M.S. *Forth* (Commanding Officer, Captain A. C. Miers, V.C., D.S.O.) and six submarines of the First Submarine Squadron, British Mediterranean Fleet called at Bizerta from the 6th to the 13th March.

Labour and Trades Unions

15. There have been no serious labour disputes during the quarter albeit the trade unions have been parties to the calling-out of their members on strikes as a result of the political situation. The most serious "general" strikes were on February 1st, "Tunisia Day," the 27th March, as a protest against the removal of the Ministers, and the 1st April, as a protest against "interference with Tunisian sovereignty." Many of the leaders of the trade unions are, of course, still under arrest or *éloignement*.

If they would do these three things, the United States Government and, he doubted not, Her Majesty's Government, would stand by the French and support them to the end. Opposition would be silenced. But the French Government seemed incapable of moving forward in any degree.

The Secretary of State said that he had voted against the inscription of Tunis on the United Nations agenda because he understood at the time that the extremists on both sides would be encouraged by a discussion in the United Nations. He did not think that Her Majesty's Government could maintain this position much longer and would have to tell the French so.

Mr. Acheson said that if the United States Government had not abstained on that vote, the United Kingdom and France would have been wholly isolated. He had not been willing to contemplate this. The French Government were so excitable on this subject that they had said they would prefer to leave the United Nations rather than have the matter discussed there. Something must be done to overcome this dangerous lack of confidence on the part of the French. The United States Government would be prepared to tell the French Government that they regarded it as an allied interest that French influence in Africa should be preserved but that in return for this the French must create a pacific situation. He had been horrified to see the instructions sent to the French Resident-General in Tunis. They offered apparent concessions in one paragraph, only to remove them in the next paragraph. There was no indication of any serious intention to make genuine concessions to Nationalist feeling.

The Secretary of State said that it must be remembered that this was a very inflamatory subject for the French Government. M. Schuman, whose position was not strong, was being attacked for weakness in dealing with Tunis. The situation of the French in North Africa was comparable to that of the whites in South Africa. They were a minority with scattered settlers surrounded by large and ever-increasing native populations. Trouble in Tunisia might easily spread to Morocco, where the French had undoubtedly established an admirable administration—albeit of a patriarchal character. The problem of reconciling French methods of colonial administration with the demands for constitutional development was present throughout Africa and would require very careful handling.

JF 1041/147 No. 35

RECORD OF A MEETING HELD AT HER MAJESTY'S EMBASSY, PARIS, ON 26th MAY, 1952

Present:

Mr. Acheson.
Ambassador Dunn.
Ambassador Gifford.
Dr. Jessup.
Mr. George Perkins.
Mr. Welles Stabler.

Mr. Eden.
Sir O. Harvey.
Sir Pierson Dixon.
Mr. F. K. Roberts.
Mr. C. A. E. Shuckburgh.

Tunisia

Mr. Acheson said that in his whole political career he had never been attacked so violently and widely over his handling of any situation as this one. There was almost a universal belief in the United States that the United States Government had been bolstering up the French Government in a reactionary policy in Africa. The French were completely unhelpful. The United States Government had assured them over and over again that they would "hold the ring" in the United Nations and otherwise, provided the French would make progress in granting constitutional reform. The French Government were not satisfied with this, which they described as a pro-native policy, which would merely encourage the Arabs to defy French authority. He had pressed the French Government:—

(*a*) to produce proposals for constitutional reform and to make them public;
(*b*) to let the native leaders out of prison so that they could negotiate with them; and
(*c*) to cease opposing discussion of these problems in the United Nations.

JF 1041/144 No. 36

FRANCO-UNITED STATES RELATIONS ON TUNISIA

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (*Received 31st May*)

(No. 292. Saving) (Telegraphic) *Paris, 30th May, 1952.*

Rumbold's letter to Allen of May 16th about Tunisia.

Tunisia was one of the subjects discussed by Mr. Acheson with the French Government the day before yesterday and both the Americans and French have given us some account of what passed. The French were represented by M. Pinay, M. Robert Schuman, M. Maurice Schumann and M. Pleven among others.

2. According to the Americans M. Schuman began by saying that he realised that American public opinion made it difficult for the United States Government to support French policy in Tunisia and that it might not be possible for them to continue to do so, but that the indiscretion through which it had become known that a change of United States policy was imminent had also made difficulties for the French, since the Tunisians, having become aware of it, were thinking that if they waited longer they need not meet the French. Mr. Acheson replied that he was not sure that the French realised how strong American public opinion was on the subject and that although the policy of the United States Government was not necessarily determined by such public opinion they had to take account of it. The United States Government were anxious to support French policy in North Africa but had to know what they were supporting and they had had difficulty recently in knowing what French policy was. The French then said that the idea of a Mixed Commission to study reforms in Tunisia had been definitely abandoned and they were hoping to make early progress with a policy of reforms without such a commission. Mr. Acheson

said that he was glad to hear this since it gave the United States Government some hope of being able to back the French at the United Nations.

3. The Quai d'Orsay's account of what passed does not substantially differ from the above. But they add that M. Schuman told Mr. Acheson in so many words that if the French Government had to choose between their North African interests and the United Nations they would have no hesitation in preferring the former and that if the United Nations interfered too much in Tunisian affairs the French Government would turn their back on the United Nations as the South African Government had done. Mr. Acheson did not react to this remark, so the Quai d'Orsay say. A Government spokesman has told the press that the French representatives "took a very firm position on Franco's duties and obligations in North Africa."

4. As to the reforms the Quai d'Orsay tell us the decision to abandon the proposed Mixed Commission was taken on the unanimous advice of all the responsible authorities in Tunisia and is in accordance with the Bey's own wishes. The Bey had never liked the idea because it had seemed to him to reflect on his own status as supreme representative of the Tunisian people. The intention now is to elaborate the programme of reforms which was submitted to the Bey last March (see my despatch No. 193 of March 27th) and, having filled in all the details, to place the programme once more before the Bey. It would then be discussed directly between him and, presumably, his Prime Minister, M. Baccouche, on the one hand and the Resident General, M. de Hauteclocque on the other. The latter returned to Paris yesterday in order to help the Quai d'Orsay to draft the fresh document which will be placed before the Bey. The Quai d'Orsay thought that this might be done within three weeks or so. They are quite confident that there is no danger of any United Nations action being taken before the next meeting of the General Assembly, by which time they expect a beginning to have been made with the implementation of the reforms.

JF 1041/157 No. 37

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME OF REFORMS FOR TUNISIA

Sir O. Harvey to Mr. Eden. (Received 21st June)

(No. 316. Saving) *Paris,*
(Telegraphic) *20th June, 1952.*

Yesterday the Government announced their programme of reforms for Tunis.

2. The preamble reaffirms the principle of Tunisian sovereignty vested in the Bey and while confirming its willingness to see Tunis progress towards internal autonomy it adds that the programme outlined will have no effect on the rights which relevant treaties confer on France.

Executive Reform

3. There will be no homogeneous Tunisian Government during this new stage. The following posts will be filled by Tunisians: President of the Council, Ministers of State, Justice, Public Health, Agriculture, Commerce and Labour; the Tunisian Ministers to have complete autonomy in the management of their services by the abolition of the requirement for approval by the Resident-General of Ministerial decrees and by the transfer to their control of personnel belonging to the Government Secretariat General. The following Ministries will have French directors: Finance, Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs, Education and Reconstruction; in these cases a post of deputy director will be created and will be filled by a Tunisian. Foreign affairs and defence remain in the hands of the French Government.

The Administrative Tribunal

4. This tribunal will have four Tunisian and four French judges. Its president will be a French Councillor of State. An Appeal Commission is provided for which will be composed of three French and three Tunisian members and will sit in Paris. This organisation is designed to guarantee individuals against administrative irregularities or possible excesses by the executive power. Its competence extends to all administrative acts but not to decrees of the Bey which have a judiciary and religious character. In the case of other decrees the tribunal may give advice. The Resident will have the right to appeal before this tribunal against any decree considered illegal. His right of intervention is suspensive. The most important effect of this reform is the suppression of the Resident-General's "assentiment" to decrees.

Legislature

5. Legislative power remains in the hands of the Bey. A parliamentary régime cannot be set up before the creation of local elected assemblies. Two consultative councils are created:—

(i) a legislative council consisting of thirty Tunisian members nominated by the Bey to give its advice and proposed amendments to texts which the Sovereign submits to it;

(ii) a financial council to be composed equally of Tunisians and French with no competence in the legislative field and concerned only with the budget and narrow economic questions in which it will have a right to suggest amendments.

Civil Service

6. The Civil Service will be open in principle to Tunisians only except in the case of posts needing experience and certain functions reserved for French civil servants which will be fixed by decree of the Bey. Selection will be by joint selection board. Until sufficient Tunisians are found to fill all posts French civil servants will be placed at the disposal of the Tunisian Government.

Local Elected Assemblies

7. Members of the Municipal Councils will be elected instead of nominated. Each "Caidat" is to be provided with an elected assembly for the discussion of local affairs, particularly budgets. The object of this reform is to familiarise Tunisians with the practice of voting rights and representative mandates.

8. The Government statement adds that measures which constitute the first phase of the ultimate plan are designed to be introduced as soon as possible. Some of these reforms open the way for future development and the speed of that development cannot be determined until the first stage has been achieved.

9. Full text of the Government Declaration to Foreign Office only by bag.

JF 1073/9 No. 38

POLITICAL REVIEW, MAY–JULY, 1952

Mr. Consul-General Williams to Mr. Eden. (Received 6th August)

Tunis,
(No. 66) *1st August, 1952.*

General

Internal conditions did not register much change in the period under review. In spite of the release on the 6th May from Djerba to their homes near Tunis of ex-Ministers Chenik, Materi, M'zali, and Ben Salem, disorders and sabotages continued throughout the Protectorate; and following the bombing, with loss of life and much material damage, of the General Post Office in Tunis on the 13th May, curfew was not only advanced from midnight but also extended to the outlying districts of the capital. The Bey having made a strong public appeal on the 15th May for a return to order and work, and the Resident-General on the 21st–22nd May, eve of Ramadan, an announcement of the lifting of the curfew throughout Tunisia, of the amelioration of the measures for control of movements of the populace, and of the impending release of 450 *éloignés*, Ramadan passed fairly quietly albeit bomb outrages, which tended to increase after its close on the 23rd June, continued without much change. Political exchanges tended to affect adversely the economic and business life of the community, who accordingly remained restless and anxious throughout the period, a condition which became one of extreme tension during the last days of July.

2. Political events were lively throughout the quarter, with many comings and goings of Ministers and officials from France, and of the Resident-General and officials from Tunisia to France. The Resident-General was absent in France from the 29th May until he returned to Tunis on the 5th July. The movements, consultations, and exchanges of views all had relation to French policy in Tunisia and the programme of reforms, which even yet has not, however, been consolidated.

3. On the world stage also Tunisian affairs put in an appearance in that on the 20th June thirteen Arab-Asian country-members of the United Nations Organisation addressed a request to the Secretary-General, in view of the continuing gravity of the situation in Tunisia, that a special session of the Assembly be summoned to consider the matter urgently. As by the dead-line date—20th July—twenty-three States only had replied supporting it whereas by regulation as many as thirty-one States were required to agree before a special Assembly could be held, the request has lapsed. It seems fairly certain, however, that unless a change for the better takes place in Franco-Tunisian relations before that time, the question of Tunisia may come up for debate in the autumn Assembly of the United Nations.

4. It is strange that nothing much, except a recent special medical report that he was not suffering ill-health, has been heard during the quarter of Bourguiba, who was moved from Remada in the south on the 7th May to the island of Galite in the north. It is certain, however, that the average Tunisian never forgets the popular hero, and that the activities of the members who are not under *éloignement* of the Neo-Destour Party are still being directed, as forcefully as the measures of control and censorship permit, against an acceptance of a programme of reforms which does not meet with the party's approval.

French Administration policy, proposals for Constitutional Reform

5. It seems clear from all the movements and discussions referred to above and the abortive debates in the Assembly on the 19th and 20th June, that French Administration policy is still not solidified. Similarly the proposals for Constitutional reform seem to be subject to change at fairly frequent intervals. It will be remembered (see Report No. 2) that the original proposals for Constitutional reform were announced on the 1st April. The suggestion at that time that they should be examined by a Mixed Commission has long since been dropped. Apart from that, no precise official information has been published regarding the exact text, at present, of the plan of reform. The Resident-General himself, while in Paris for his long stay, told *The Times* correspondent on the 6th June that the (March–April) plan of reforms "had undergone only minor procedural modifications in recent weeks." It would appear from the debates in the Assembly in Paris on the 19th and 20th June that included in the plan at that time were provisions for: (*a*) the acceptance by France of the principle of gradual progress towards "internal autonomy" for Tunisia; (*b*) the appointment of Tunisian deputy directors in those Ministries which are to remain under the control of French directors; (*c*) the appointment of a joint Administrative Tribunal; (*d*) the recruitment, in principle, of Tunisians only for the civil service (although provision is made for the filling by Frenchmen of special posts); and (*e*) the election of local Assemblies by both Tunisians and Frenchmen. It is understood that the Resident-General brought with him, on his return to Tunis on the 5th July, the text of a revised plan of reforms. At that time M. de Hauteclocque made a declaration by radio referring to the solicitude of the French Government and its Ministers in regard to Tunisian reforms, and assuring the French in Tunisia that any measures of reform would still enable them to continue their fruitful labours in Tunisia in security and peace. In spite of the fact that the official text had not been published, both Tunisian National Organisations and French political parties in Tunisia lost no time in announcing that the programme of reforms was disliked. In official quarters, a full meeting of the Tunisian Cabinet, attended by Tunisian Ministers and French *Directeurs* met on the 12th July, under the presidency of Prime Minister Baccouche to consider the itemised programme, and continued frequent sittings until the 19th July. On the 21st July the Secretary-General (M. Pons) of the Tunisian Government proceeded to Paris to—it is understood—present the revised text to the French Government; and on the 28th July (M. Pons having returned from Paris on the 27th July, apparently with a text, as approved by the French Government, of the then programme the Resident-General, according to an official announcement, had a long interview with the Bey, who was accompanied by Baccouche, during which the programme was discussed. Unofficial reports say that the Bey asked for time (some say two or three months) to study the texts. The announcement added that the Resident-General would be seeing the Bey again in a few days, possibly on the 31st July. (It is announced to-day that this interview has been postponed.) It would therefore seem that the programme of reform, which may well have been a sturdy tree last March, has since been conditioned into many planks of timber, whose shapes and sizes are apparently still being fashioned and refashioned for possible eventual dovetailing in a structure of a Tunisian constitution.

Relations between local political leaders and parties and the French Administration

6. It is said that the relations between the French Administration and the Tunisian Ministry is not unpleasant. It should be remembered, however, that the latter is a Ministry of administration, and that none of its members belongs to a political party. Accordingly the Ministry represents, in effect, only itself and plays its part of assisting the Administration to govern the country in its civil and legal spheres.

7. Although the ex-Ministers, belonging to the Neo-Destour (national) Party were returned to their homes from *éloignement* early in May, they appear to be obeying the injunctions related to their release, and to be taking no part in the anti-Administration activities of their party. Those activities seem to be still pretty keen in spite of the measures of control, in that typewritten bulletins are prepared and circulated surreptitiously, calling attention to the inadequacy of the reform proposals and—often—protesting against French military and censorship measures. In addition, it is known that certain members of the Neo-Destour Party who had escaped the measures *éloignement*, have interviewed the Bey enlisting his support against the reform proposals. Other Nationalist parties are also critical of the proposals.

8. The R.P.F., the strongest French political party locally, is also wholly inimical to the Administration, its reform proposals, and all its work. The R.P.F. was joined by representatives of other French political parties at a meeting on the 7th July whereat were passed a resolution objecting to present French policy in Tunisia and a decision *de rejéter ces Réformes imposées.*

9. The trade unions, headed by the powerful U.G.T.T., are also not in favour of the Administration and its reform proposals.

10. Generally, therefore, expressed opinion, both Tunisian and French, seem to be as strongly anti-Administration as was that, forty years ago, of a loyalist in Southern Ireland anti-Government. The parallel is, however, not exact; in that the French residents in Tunisia are anti-Administration in their concern at authority's propensity to change existing institutions, whereas the Nationalists' objection to the Administration is that existing institutions are not being changed more ruthlessly, quickly and thoroughly. The dilemma of the Resident-General, in whom the French Government have recently expressed their confidence, is, in these circumstances, all too obvious; especially having regard to Nationalist movements in neighbouring French territories in North Africa.

11. The relations between the Bey and his Ministry have received some recent publicity as a result of a telegram which the Bey is alleged to have sent to President Auriol on the 22nd July dissociating himself from the deliberations of his Council of Ministers. On the 26th July Prime Minister Baccouche published locally a strange message discounting the responsibility for the reforms of the Council of Ministry. After stating that the council confined itself within the framework of its powers to *mise au point* the texts which are to be presented to the Bey by the Resident-General in the name of the French Government the message added that "*il va de soi que volonté de Notre Souverain . . . . reste entière; c'est a lui seul qu'appartient la decision.*" It would seem that the Bey (rumour says instigated by close members of his family) may have been rude to M. Baccouche, and that the latter has made clear the position of himself and his Ministry. If there are differences between the Bey and his Prime Minister, it is said that the latter may be disposed to resign before he leaves Tunis for vacation in France on the 14th August.

Communist Activities

12. There do not appear to have been any Communist activities in the Protectorate in the period under review. It is true that the laying of indiscriminate bombs continued throughout the period; but so far definite evidence has not been published that these outrages are the work of Communists. (The Secretary-General of the Communist Party in Tunisia, Nizard, who had been in an internment camp since March, was released to his home—in Tunis about the middle of July.)

French North Africa

13. There is more interest in Morocco than in Algeria, but interest in both is insignificant.

Britain and the Commonwealth

14. The official birthday of Her Majesty The Queen was celebrated in Tunis by a reception at the Consulate-General, which was attended by representatives of the British Associations who submitted a loyal

message of devotion with their heartfelt congratulations to Her Majesty. The Minister Délegué, in the absence of the Resident-General, and other high officials of the Residency as well as members of the Consular Corps in Tunis also attended; and M. de Boisseson on behalf of those present and of the French community in Tunisia, congratulated Her Majesty and expressed the hope that Her reign would be long and happy. A reception was also held by Mr. Vice-Consul Farrugia at Sfax, and similar loyal messages submitted.

15. In spite of the political situation, numerous representatives of British firms in the United Kingdom have visited Tunis and the country with a view to setting up, or extending, sales agencies for the further promotion of British exports to the Protectorate. By contrast, because of the political situation, one or two responsible British journalists have also visited the country.

Labour and Trades Unions

16. Strikes, political and otherwise, with the exception of a small one for a few days in July at Sfax on the railway which did not cause inconvenience, did not take place. There were some minor incidents of closing of Moslem shops during the early part of the quarter as a protest against some official action or as a sign of sympathy with a Nationalist event, but all these were discontinued after a warning had been issued early in June by General Garbay.

17. The most important trade union, the U.G.T.T., seems to be politically active. Of course, neither Farhat Hached, the Secretary-General, nor Boudali, his assistant, have suffered *éloignement*. They are both popularly supposed to be in close touch with the Neo-Destour Party; extreme *colon* newspapers suggest that the U.G.T.T. interests itself in the bombing activities throughout the country. Apart from being at liberty Hached and Boudali contact the Bey, officials at the Residency, and even the United States Consulate-General. It is supposed that the contact with the Bey had relation to the reform proposals; it is probable that the Residency contacts had relation to applications for visas to go to the Berlin and/or Brussels meetings of the I.C.F.T.U.; it is known that Boudali's visit to the United States Consulate-General had relation to Nationalist objections to the reform proposals. It is possible that Hached is still, after his welcome by them in America last year, in touch with the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. and that the close relations of these two Nationalists with the American Consulate-General in Tunis (for instance, they both also attended—rather an unorthodox proceeding which did not escape some criticism in certain official circles—the cocktail party on the 4th July) may be evidence of the desire of the State Department to maintain the closest interest in Nationalist sentiments in this area.

JF 1041/200 No. 39

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE UNITED STATES MINISTER

The Tunisian Situation and the Forthcoming Assembly of the United Nations

Mr. Eden to Sir O. Franks (Washington)

(No. 940. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *6th August, 1952.*

When the United States Minister came to see me this morning, he mentioned that his Government were preoccupied about the position in relation to Tunis at the forthcoming Assembly. He feared that there would be a substantial majority in favour of discussion of this topic. If this were so, would it not be better for the French to offer to make a statement in advance? I said that I had a real sympathy with the French in this business. After all, the United Nations was supposed to function on the basis of its Charter and in accordance with the terms of the Charter I was advised that this was not an issue which the United Nations had a right to discuss. Quite apart from that the French had shown a willingness to discuss reforms, though I understood that the Bey had not yet approved these. Mr. Holmes agreed that this was true but thought that the Bey might be delaying in the hope that the United Nations would take a hand. I said that this proved my point. Probably more progress would have been made in Tunis before now but for the thought that the United Nations would intervene. Quite apart from the question of the terms of the Charter, the United Nations ought not to intervene in the dispute if progress could be made and was being made by other means.

2. Furthermore, there was the question of precedents to be considered. If Tunis was going to be discussed what about Cyprus? We had had to speak to the Greeks very sternly about this, and they had recently been more reasonable. According to my information, they did not at present propose to raise Cyprus at the United Nations. But if they heard that Tunis was being discussed, the temptation to them would be strong and then what about other colonial issues? We were really not prepared to have them all canvassed by Salvador or some other country which knew nothing about them when such discussion was contrary to the terms of the Charter. I thought that the United States Government ought to realise how serious the implications of this business were for her closest friends. This was no old-fashioned George III view of colonial problems which I was putting to him, but a serious reflection on how we could produce best results for international relations.

3. Mr. Holmes took all this in quite good part, but he repeated his concern that whatever we or the United States might do the French were likely to be voted down so that there was also the question of tactics to be considered.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Athens and Paris, to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York, and to Consuls-General at Tunis and Rabat.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

JF 1041/203 No. 40

ARAB-ASIAN GROUP REQUEST FOR THE INCLUSION OF TUNISIA ON THE ASSEMBLY AGENDA

Mr. Coulson to Mr. Eden. *(Received 6th August)*

United Kingdom Delegation
to the United Nations,
(No. 522) *New York,*
(Telegraphic) *6th August, 1952.*

Washington telegram No. 823 Saving: Tunisia.

Arab-Asian Group have now made formal request for inclusion of Tunisia in the Assembly agenda. Americans are afraid that the French may issue some statement committing them to opposing inclusion in the agenda, and I understand American Embassy in London are approaching you with a view to a joint approach to the French Government.

2. For the reasons given in Sir Gladwyn Jebb's letter of 17th July, our view is that the French would be ill-advised to oppose inclusion in the agenda. From the United Nations point of view I therefore think there would be advantage in supporting the United States representations.

JF 1041/233 No. 41

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR

Situation in Tunis

Mr. Eden to Sir O. Harvey (Paris)

(No. 876. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *2nd September, 1952.*

When the French Ambassador came to see me this morning he spoke of the situation in Tunis, and said the Americans had privately given some good advice. Unfortunately, owing to the near approach of the Presidential election, the Americans were not prepared for their advice to be made public.

2. The French had a good case and it had been made stronger by the Bey's delay in fulfilling any administrative acts at all. He thought that the French Government would probably decide not to oppose the inscription of the topic on the agenda at the United

Nations, but they would use their own methods for deciding when the matter should be brought forward.

3. I said that I was grateful for this information, and I would be glad if the Ambassador would tell M. Schuman that I had been giving further thought to this autumn's Assembly meeting. I still took the view that the main debate ought not to take place until after the Presidential election. It seemed completely crazy to have international discussions of this kind in the last fortnight of the campaign. The Ambassador emphatically agreed, and said that he knew M. Schuman shared my view. I continued that it might be that our view would prevail in the United Nations, but I could not be sure. Supposing that the Assembly decided to have the debate, despite our opinions, it was my present intention not to go to New York myself until after the Presidential election. I should be glad to know whether M. Schuman would in practice do the same. If the French Government were not going to oppose a discussion of Tunis, it would presumably be easier to arrange this. The Ambassador said that he would communicate with M. Schuman and let me know the outcome.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Tunis, Rabat and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I am, &c.
ANTHONY EDEN.

JF 1013/13 No. 42

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA

1st August–31st October, 1952

Mr. Calvert to Mr. Eden. (Received 2nd December)

(No. 89. Restricted) *Tunis,*
Sir, *24th November, 1952.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political review of events in Tunisia for the three months ended 31st October, 1952.

2. Copies of this despatch and enclosure are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat.

I have, &c.
A. S. CALVERT.

Enclosure in No. 42

Political Review of Events in Tunisia—1st August to 31st October, 1952

General

If there were important developments during the period under review in Tunisia itself, the political situation here was still one of deadlock at the end of October. The centre of interest for much of the three months was outside the Regency, either in Paris or later in the United Nations at New York. Within the Regency, however, events of significance had indeed taken place. The revised programme of reforms, presented to the Bey on 28th July, was given to the press in summarised form on 6th August. His Highness passed the proposals for study to a body of forty persons selected as advisers and chosen, according to the French (who adamantly refuse them recognition as a representative assembly), by the Bey's entourage rather than by the Bey himself. On 7th September the so-called Council of Forty, after receiving the unanimous report of a sub-committee, advised the Bey to reject the proposed reforms. This His Highness did in a communication to the French President, which enclosed the report of his advisers. President Auriol's acknowledgment, stating that the Bey's letter was being passed to the Council of Ministers, was terse and strongly worded. No response by the French Government had been made by the end of the period under review.

2. The rejection of the reforms was generally attributed in large part to the desire of the Nationalists to strengthen their position in view of the approaching meeting of the United Nations. The intention of the Arabo Asiatic States to bring the Tunisian and Moroccan questions before the United Nations aroused much excitement and the attitude to be adopted by the French Government was awaited with the utmost interest. The Resident-General's own view, he informed Her Majesty's Consul-General, was not to oppose inscription of the questions on the agenda of the United Nations (it would be, he said, impossible to prevent it) but to deny the latter's competence with the greatest firmness. The French Government's declaration on 7th October of their opposition to inscription and refusal to accept United Nations competence was received with the greatest satisfaction by French opinion in the Regency. Nationalist opinion had probably not been very sanguine, but owing to the strict censorship was not easy to ascertain. The vernacular press was allowed to offer little comment, but that Nationalist opinion reacted unfavourably was sufficiently shown by a certain increase at once noticeable in the campaign of sabotage and terrorism.

3. The campaign undoubtedly received a stimulus but until the end of the period under review the incidents for the most part were not of a serious nature. Bomb outrages were the commonest feature of the campaign and though material damage was often caused there were few casualties. The atmosphere remained calm, there were no strikes and no evidence of general concerted action. In Tunis life continued much as usual, but business interests were adversely affected, the slow recovery in commerce from the serious situation brought about by the demonstrations of last spring being effectively checked.

French Administration policy proposals for Constitutional Reform

4. The revised plan of reforms which, as has been described, was published on 7th August, 1952, was based on the agreed reforms of 8th February, 1951 (see Report No. 2 for the period 1st January–30th April, 1951, paragraph 1) and dealt with the following matters:—

(i) *Machinery of Government*—the Prime Minister to receive more extensive powers and the competence of the secretary-general more closely defined.
(ii) *Civil Service appointments*—more liberal arrangements for Tunisians.
(iii) *Administrative Tribunal*—a judicial body, of joint French and Tunisian membership, with advisory functions.
(iv) *Legislative Council*—wholly Tunisian in membership, to examine and advise on all draft laws.
(v) *Municipalities*—composition, &c., specified.
(vi) *Council of Finance*—function to prepare the budget: composition half French, half Tunisian.
(vii) *Caidal Councils*—establishment of local administrative bodies.

5. The attitude of the Nationalist advisers of the Bey, as stated above, was one of rejection, but some French commentators at the time, who evidently had access to official opinion, declared that although appearances were not encouraging, there, were, nevertheless, grounds for believing that the door was not completely closed to further discussions. The reaction of the French resident community in Tunisia to the rejection was one of delight, for they were hostile to the reforms in their entirety and in particular found distasteful the sections dealing with the civil service and the Legislative Council.

6. The demand of the Bey for time to consider the reforms, when these were first presented to him, led the French Government to send M. Binoche, director of the Africa-Levant section of the Quai d'Orsay, to Tunis to enquire further into what appeared to them to be manœuvres designed to delay consideration until the approaching United Nations session. M. Binoche arrived on 4th August and, during a three or four days' stay, had a lengthy audience of the Bey. He was accompanied by the head of the Political Cabinet of the Residency-General, M. Grellet. Little was allowed to be known here of the results of the interview save that the Bey was thought to have promised a reply on the reforms in two weeks, but it was later learned from Paris that the talk had in fact been inconclusive.

7. It may be mentioned here that early in the period under review the American Consul-General, under instructions from his Government, sought an opportunity to present to the Prime Minister, M. Salaheddine Baccouche, a memorandum setting forth for the information of the Bey, the views of the State Department on the Tunisian situation. The meeting took place on 20th August at the Residency-General in the presence of M. de Hauteclocque (to whom a copy of the memorandum was given) and M. Grellet. The memorandum emphasised that solution of the Tunisian question was more likely to be found by negotiation between the two parties than by any other method and suggested that Tunisians should not be too ready to assume that reference to the next United Nations Assembly would bring about automatically the realisation of their national aspirations. The memorandum advised, therefore, that the end in view, viz., "internal autonomy," should be reached by negotiation. The Prime Minister, it was said, appeared to agree wholeheartedly with the sentiments of the communication but did

not promise, in so many words, to pass it on to the Bey. Neither M. de Hauteclocque nor M. Grellet took part in the conversation. It may be remarked that the United States Consul-General, newly arrived in July, has perhaps more than maintained his predecessor's active interest in the political situation here (in that he has State Department instructions not to spare the telegrams!) and has numerous contacts with Tunisian Nationalists as well as French circles.

Relations between local political parties and leaders and the French Administration

8. Relations between the palace and the Residency-General have been outwardly correct and even on courtesy occasions superficially friendly but otherwise, as will have been gathered from previous paragraphs, distant and antagonistic. The Bey himself is often described by the Resident-General as a man of straw, almost illiterate, completely under the influence of his immediate entourage and therefore a very tiresome person to deal with. His closest advisers are his sons Prince Chadly and Prince Mohammed, his daughter Princess Zakia, Dr. Maqaddam, the Neo-Destour leader and Farhat Hached, the secretary-general of the U.G.R.T. who has been playing an increasingly important political rôle in recent months.

9. The Prime Minister, Salaheddin Baccouche, and his Ministry of Administration remained in office, but scarcely in favour at the palace. On one occasion, early in the period under review, the Bey allowed it to be known through a press interview that the Prime Minister no longer enjoyed his confidence. Immediate enquiry by the Residency, however, brought His Highness to an acknowledgment that the impression given was not in fact a correct one. Baccouche, who had been somewhat indisposed, left on 28th August for France, where he took a cure, returning to Tunisia at the end of September. Early in the latter month he visited Paris for meetings with the President, with M. Schuman and others, meetings described by M. de Hauteclocque to Her Majesty's Consul-General as most successful.

10. The Resident-General also left on 28th August for France for consultations with his Government and for leave of absence. He was obliged to return before his leave was over as, during his absence, the reply of the Bey on the reforms had been handed to the Residency and forwarded to Paris. He returned to the Regency with the intention of pursuing a policy of clemency in regard to political detainees, a policy he declared he would not abandon in any spirit of retaliation for the latest attitude of the Bey. During the following days he authorised the release of 466 out of a total remaining 533 persons in custody and by the end of September was able to close the two remaining concentration camps in the territory. The sixty-seven persons not released were serious offenders who were transferred to the island of Djerba, where they were allowed, however, considerable relaxation.

11. The fact that the Administration were able to close the camps and release the great majority of the detainees was regarded by the Resident-General as of importance in strengthening the position France would be able to assume at the meeting of the United Nations. Those released presumably gave an undertaking, as others had done previously, not to become involved again in politics. The Residency declared to Her Majesty's Consul-General that they were satisfied that Chenik, the former Prime Minister, and most of his Ministers, had faithfully observed this undertaking, exceptions only being M'zali, ex-Minister of Commerce and General Saadallah, ex-Minister of Agriculture, who were the joint authors of the Bey's letter to the President rejecting the reforms.

12. Among those most recently released was M°. Hedi Nouira, prominent member of the Neo-Destour party committee. The president of the Neo-Destour, M°. Habib Bourguiba, remained in open detention in the island of Galite throughout the three months under review. Somewhat less was heard of him during this time, probably as he was not allowed to receive visitors. More adequate living quarters are being built for him as the intention of the authorities is to keep him on the island for some time, certainly through the winter. He is said to be in reasonably good health. The Neo-Destour, ex-Minister Saleh ben Youssef, left Egypt for New York to be present there during the meetings of the United Nations.

13. The budget of the Regency provided a problem of some difficulty during September. At the end of March last a budget for six months only was agreed and in consequence at 1st October a further budget for the remainder of the financial year had to receive approval. In it there was, however, a deficit of 4½ milliards of francs, which the French Government, with certain stipulations as to economy in administration, agreed to meet. The budget was then presented to the Bey for his acceptance, which was given with some alacrity when his sole condition—that his civil list be doubled!—was agreed.

14. Censorship of press and radio in Tunisia was maintained throughout the three months under review. Vernacular newspapers still in publication were few and their contents of little special interest.

Communist activities

15. There has been little direct evidence again during the period under report of Communist activity. There is no doubt that members of the organisation have taken part in the terrorist campaign, but discreetly.

16. In the international field the Tunisian Communist Party sent a message of greeting to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow.

French North Africa

17. The questions of the Tunisian and Moroccan Protectorates being so closely linked, attention to Moroccan affairs was constant in both French and Arabic newspapers here, and grew in liveliness with the approach of the United Nations Assembly. There has been little in the press treatment of Algerian affairs to merit special attention.

Britain and the Commonwealth

18. The 3rd Destroyer Squadron of the Royal Navy visited La Goulette from 13th to 21st September. Some doubts were expressed when the visit was first announced as to its appropriateness in view of the general political situation in the Regency. Nothing untoward occurred, however, the officers and men entertained and were entertained and the visit was considered a great success in every way. The American Consulate-General were interested as the State Department had asked to be informed as to the suitability of the present time for naval visits. There has been no American naval visit to Tunisian ports since the beginning of 1952.

19. The attitude of Her Majesty's Government in declaring support of the French Government's position over the Tunisian question and the United Nations received much attention in the local press. French opinion was greatly pleased and encouraged; Tunisian Nationalists were discouraged and hostile. It was reported at the same time that, as regards America, Nationalists were still "reticent" at the end of October as they felt that, in spite of America's attitude hitherto, the United States would support France when the Tunisian question finally comes up for debate in the United Nations.

20. The local press, in the three months under review, have contained fairly frequent references to Pakistan (in connexion with the Tunisian question before the United Nations), to South Africa and to Britain's relations with Egypt and Persia.

Labour and Trade Unions

21. There were no strikes on political issues during the period under review. One strike, of dockers of the U.G.T.T. and U.S.T.T., lasted for some days in August, but arose out of dissatisfaction over the distribution of some new dockers' cards.

22. The U.G.T.T. continued its political interests, to which reference was made in the last report chiefly through the activities of the secretary-general, Farhat Hached. This official, risen from the ranks of his union, enjoys considerable influence and has ready access to the palace. He makes a favourable impression on Europeans who meet him. During August he was refused permission to leave the protectorate to attend the Trade Union Congress at Brussels. This was not, M. de Hauteclocque informed Her Majesty's Consul-General, because he was a union official. On the contrary, any other delegate, who would confine himself to trade union affairs, would be allowed to go, M. de Hauteclocque said he had informed the U.G.T.T., but Farhat Hached could not be trusted not to occupy himself with politics, and so was barred. Farhat Hached, and another U.G.T.T. official, Boudali, were similarly refused later on permission to leave Tunisia for Tripoli.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/1 No. 43

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TUNISIA

Consul-General Calvert to Mr. Eden. (Received 15th April)

(No. 41. Confidential) *Tunis,*
Sir, *8th April,* 1952.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on leading personalities in Tunisia, compiled in April 1952. It is an amplification and where necessary a correction of the report enclosed with my despatch No. 10 of 11th January, 1951.

2. A copy of this despatch, and enclosure, is being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, for information.

I have, &c.
A. S. CALVERT.

Leading Personalities in Tunisia

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1. Abdul Wahab, Hassan Hosni
Born about 1880. Tunisian notable, intellectual and patron of Tunisian art and letters. Minister of State in Baccouche Ministry, 1943 to July 1947. Made honorary Minister of State. Tunisian delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting at Florence in 1950 and Istanbul in 1951. Elected Associate Member of the Royal Institute of Egypt in February 1951.

2. Adhari, Dr. Ali el
Born about 1895. Minister of Labour in the Government of Mustapha Kaak—July 1947 to August 1950.

3. Ammar, Taher ben
Born about 1905. President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil. Land-owner and leading merchant. President of the Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture.

4. Baccouche, Salahaddine Ben Mohamed
Born at Tunis in 1883. Member of old family of Beni Khair. Related to the present Bey. Widely respected, genial elder statesman. Educated at Lycée Carnot. From 1904 to 1941 in local administrative service, ending as Caid of Sousse. On liberation of Tunisia appointed Prime Minister on 15th May, 1943, in which position he served until 1947. Made honorary Prime Minister. On 28th March, 1952, appointed Prime Minister by Lamine Pasha Bey.

5. Badra, Mohamed
Born in 1900 at Tunis. Educated at the Sadiki College, the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and in France (literature). Civil servant in Administration, later in Ministry of Justice and subsequently in charge of the Secretariat of the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture of North Tunisia. In 1943, was in charge of the "cabinet" of Prime Minister Chenik. In 1948 appointed administrator of the Banque de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie.

Entered second Chenik Government in August 1950, as Minister for Social Affairs. Was in Paris with Prime Minister in October–December 1951, to discuss Tunisian problem with French Government. On 13th January, 1952, went again to Paris with Saleh ben Youssef this time to lay complaint against France before the United Nations. On removal and dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik at the end of March 1952, Badra left Paris suddenly with ben Youssef and succeeded in reaching Cairo.

6. Barjot, Vice-Admiral Pierre
Born 1901. Arrived in Tunisia in February 1951, to take up command at Bizerta of French naval forces in Tunisia. Previous command was of Aircraft Carrier Group and naval aircraft. Energetic. Friendly.

7. Belkhodja, Abdel Kader
Born about 1903. Minister of Agriculture in Kaak Government, July 1947, to August 1950. On ceasing to hold office was made honorary Minister of Agriculture by the Bey, and appointed a representative to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation—a selection strongly criticised by the nationalists with whom he was unpopular.

8. Boisseson, Robert Barbara de Labelotterie de
Born 1905. In French Foreign Service since 1930 has served at Warsaw, in China, Japan and at the Holy See whence he was appointed to Tunisia as Minister delegate. Agreeable and helpful.

9. Bouhajeb, Ali
Born about 1895. Minister of Public Health in Kaak Government, July 1947, to August 1950. Member of a leading Tunisian family (see Salah ben Khalifa).

10. Bourguiba, Maître Farid
Lawyer, journalist. Banished to his native place, Beja, for a period in the summer of 1951 for scurrilous articles against General Juin over Moroccan question.

11. Bourguiba, Maître Habib
Born at Monastir in 1903. Educated at the Sadiki College, Tunis, and in France where studied law. Admitted to Tunisian bar in 1930. Leader of Destour nationalist party; spent a number of years abroad in Egypt and France. Married to a French lady. After split of Destour party into Néo- and Vieux-, became secretary-general of stronger and more influential Néo-Destour nationalists in 1934 and President during the war. Has been interned by French from time to time since 1934. Visited United States at the end of 1946 and returned to Tunis from Egypt in September 1949. Is prepared to negotiate with French and accept reforms leading to internal autonomy as stage on road to complete independence. Is nevertheless ready to recognise special relationship between Tunisia and France. By temperament is somewhat *exalté*; an ideologist, self-important. In 1950 was the recipient of marks of high consideration by the Bey.

In spring and summer of 1951 made prolonged tour of a political character—Egypt, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Italy, United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States. In the United Kingdom and the United States made speeches, broadcasts and gave press interviews that aroused strong comment amongst the French. Was later refused entry into Morocco. Early in January 1952, returned from Paris to Tunis where on 18th January was arrested upon the orders of the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, on grounds of having by violent speeches encouraged outbreaks of lawlessness by nationalist followers. Was sent to Tabarka with several other nationalist leaders, arrested at the same time, and at end of March, at the time of the dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik, was transferred to Remada in southern Tunisia.

12. Brunet, Louis
Leading member of the *Rassemblement Français* or French residents in Tunisia, and is one of their two representatives ("senator") to the Council of the Republic, Paris. The other, and senior, "senator" is Antoine Colonna (*q.v.*).

13. Chadly Bey, Prince
Born about 1909 (1328 A.H.). Eldest son of His Highness Laming Pasha Bey, Bey of Tunis. Personable, popular and prominent. In February 1951, appointed Director of the Personal Cabinet of his father.

14. Chenik, M'hamed
Born in Tunis in 1890 of a family of "Chorfa," descended from the Prophet. Father and forebears important merchants. He himself, after secondary education, pursued his studies in commerce, specialising in economic and financial questions. Member of the Grand Conseil from its inauguration, and served as its secretary. In 1924 was elected President of the North Tunisian Chamber of Commerce; in 1925 Vice-President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil, which post he occupied until 1943. Made Prime Minister in 1943 by then Bey, Moncef Pasha Bey, but he remained aloof from political life from the Liberation until called to be Prime Minister in August 1950. Widely respected, particularly for his loyal association with Moncef Bey, but has unimpressive personality. Is reputed to be a wealthy landowner. After prolonged negotiations with the Resident-General, M. Perillier, came to an agreement over a set of reforms which were promulgated on 8th February, 1951. Difficulties arose between French Administration and Tunisian Ministry with result that little progress made in implementation of reforms. Went to Paris in October 1951, bearer of note from the Bey to the President. Remained there, together with several of his Ministers, until nearly the end of December, when returned after receipt of French Government's reply of 15th December, 1951. This reply was regarded by him and Tunisian nationalists generally as most unsatisfactory. He maintained an unco-operative attitude towards the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, and was arrested, together with three other Ministers, on 26th/27th March, 1952, and removed to Kebili in south Tunisia. A successor, Salaheddine Baccouche, appointed as Prime Minister by the Bey, and as this report is being drafted, M. Chenik's detention was not expected to be of long duration.

15. Cohen-Hadria, Dr. Elie
Born about 1902. Medical practitioner (dermatologist) also journalist. Is the federal secretary of the Tunisian Socialist Party. Has considerable local standing; is well known to French President, M. Vincent Auriol, by whom he was received on a recent visit to Paris. Writes leaders for the Socialist weekly *Fraternité en Tunisie*.

16. Colonna, Antoine
A Corsican. Leader of the party representing French vested interests in Tunisia, the *Rassemblement Français*. Is the senior of the two representatives ("senators") to the Conseil de la République, Paris, the other being Louis Brunet (*q.v.*). Is indefatigable in leading the opposition to the introduction of reforms into Tunisia, especially in lobbying the Quai d'Orsay and other Government departments and political leaders in Paris.

17. Delange, General
Born about 1903. General Officer Commanding South (Military) Zone in Tunisia, with headquarters at Gabès. Is friendly and appears well-disposed. Is said to have good war record. Was on French Equatorial Africa frontier with the Sudan and had cordial relations with British opposite numbers.

18. Djait, Abdelaziz
Born about 1905. Minister of Justice in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950.

19. Djellouli, Habib
Formerly Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry to July 1947. Then made honorary Minister of Justice.

20. Duran-Angliviel, Maître Andre
Lawyer, journalist, politician. Has been in Tunisia since 1905. Before that was a Protestant pastor in France. Is a strong partisan of Tunisian nationalism. Has also strong socialist views, verging on communism. Himself declares he is not Communist, but a sympathiser. Writes leading article about thrice weekly for *Le Petit Matin*, but has discontinued this lately, believed due to censorship. Very intelligent, able and mordant writer.

21. Ferhat, Maître Saleh
Former Minister of Justice, President of the Vieux-Destour Party. Went to Paris in the autumn of 1951 to try to interest the United Nations in the Tunisian question.

22. Gantès, Henri
Born about 1910 in Egypt. Contrôleur Civil at Sfax, where during the years 1940–42, he was assistant. Is friendly. Speaks English well and fluently.

23. Garbay, General
Born in 1903. Arrived in Tunisia in August 1951, as General Officer Commanding Troops in Tunisia. Formerly held commands in Madagascar (1947–49) and Indo-China. In Tunisia towards the end of March 1952, was responsible for maintenance of law and order under martial law proclaimed by Resident-General.

24. Hached, Farhat
Journalist and secretary-general of the Union Générale de Travaillistes Tunisiens (U.G.T.T.), one of the two more important labour organisations. The U.G.T.T., apart from its general activities to advance interests of labour, has nationalist sympathies. The other organisation, the U.S.T.T., has Communist leanings. Farhat Hached, whose influence is said to be growing, would not appear to be a Communist.

25. Haydar, General Chadly
Born about 1904. Is Sheikh-el-Medina, or Head of the Municipality of the Arab City of Tunis. Of mixed racial origin being descended from a Greek grandfather, a sailor shipwrecked on the Tunisian coast, a Turkish grandmother and a Caucasian mother. Is related to the Beylical family. Friendly.

26. Hauteclocque, Jean de
Born in 1893. Comes of an old Artois family and is a cousin of the late General Leclerc. Served with distinction in the first world war and entered the Diplomatic Service in 1919, serving at Berne, Istanbul and Bucharest. Later became secretary-general of the French Administration in Syria, but was recalled by Vichy during the Occupation. Was arrested for Resistance activities in 1944. After the war was Ambassador at Ottawa in 1947, and later the same year appointed as Ambassador to Brussels. Appointed Resident-General, Tunisia at the beginning of January 1952. Arrived at his post on 13th January in midst of a difficult constitutional crisis. Acted with determination and without delay in arresting a number of Neo-Destour leaders, including Habib Bourguiba, several days later. Finding Prime Minister Chenik impossible to work with, demanded his dismissal of the Bey and this not being at once agreed, ordered arrest and *éloignement* of Chenik and three Ministers. Presented proposals for reform to Bey, who had in meantime appointed Baccouche as new Prime Minister. Is genial, well-disposed, is probably more practical minded than intellectual.

27. Kaak, Mustapha
Born about 1880. Prime Minister from 1947 to August 1950. Very unpopular with nationalists of all shades as being supine and tool of the French "imperialists." Resignation and replacement by M'hamed Chenik gave great satisfaction to nationalists, just as subsequent conferment of honours upon him and his appointment by the French in an advisory capacity to their delegation to the United Nations caused indignation. Pleasant, cultivated but perhaps somewhat ineffective. Lawyer and *bâtonnier* of the Tunis bar.

28. Kastelly, Chedly
Born about 1880. Tunisian Vice-President of the Municipality of Tunis, an office in abeyance for some years but revived by the resident-general, M. Perillier in the summer of 1950, soon after his arrival. Chedly Kastelly seems, however, to be overshadowed by the French Vice-President, Dr. Tremsal (*q.v.*), and probably wields little power or influence. Is said to be owner of Arabic-language daily *An-Nahda*, influential and moderate nationalist.

29. Khalifa, Salah ben
Born about 1912. Is the Caid-Gouverneur of Sfax. A member of a prominent Tunisian family, landowners. Is son-in-law of Ali Bouhajeb (*q.v.*).

30. Lamine Pasha Bey, His Highness Sidi Mohamed, Bey of Tunis
Born at Tunis on 4th September, 1881. Son of Sidi Mohamed el Habib Pasha Bey, who reigned from 1922–29. Ascended the Husseinite throne on 15th May, 1943, in succession to Moncef Bey, deposed. Has three sons, of whom the eldest is Prince Chadly (*q.v.*), the others being Prince Mohamed and Prince Slah Eddine, and a number of daughters. Lamine Premier, as he is sometimes designated, has identified himself increasingly since 1949 with the Tunisian nationalist movement.

31. Maoui, General Taher
Born about 1905. Is Chef de Protocole to the Bey of Tunis *vis-à-vis* French authorities and foreign representatives, and invariably represents His Highness at public functions. Is sociable, well-disposed. Has family connexion with the Bey, but has risen to present position from a junior post in the secretariat-general.

32. Materi, Dr. Mahmud
Born at Tunis in 1896. Son of an Imam of the Mosque El Ksar. Received secondary education at the Sadiki College, after which he was a school-teacher for a time. In 1922, he took his *licence* in science and 1926 his degree in medicine. He subsequently exercised his profession in Tunis. Entering politics he became President of the Néo-Destour. In M'hamed Chenik's first Government in 1943 he was Minister of the Interior, but on the Liberation he retired from political life until in August 1950, he became Minister of State in Chenik's second Government. Towards the end of March 1952, was arrested, together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclocque, and removed to Kebili where detained pending formation of a new Ministry.

33. M'Zali, Mohamad Salah
Born at Monastir in 1896. Educated at the Sadiki College and the Lycée Carnot. Doctor of Laws. Also graduate of Lyon. Held important post in the Ministry of Justice from 1922 to 1934, when he was appointed Caid of Bizerta. In 1943, became Minister for Religious Endowments; Minister for Social Affairs in 1945. He was Minister of Commerce and "Artisanat" in the Kaak Government, and on M'hamed Chenik becoming Prime Minister, was the only Minister to retain his seat, holding the same portfolio in the new Government. Energetic, intelligent, good administrator and good-humoured.

Towards the end of March 1952, was arrested together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclocque, and removed to Kebili, where detained pending formation of a new Ministry.

34. Perrussel, Maître Yves
Born about 1905. Honorary M.B.E. for his work as Resistance leader during the war. Is the Territorial delegate of the R.P.F. in Tunisia. Former Vice-President of the Tunis Municipality, a post he resigned in 1950.

35. Pons, Raymond
Born in 1907. Served in French Foreign Service in various posts in the Middle East as secretary-interpreter from 1929–43. Oriental secretary 1st Class, 1943. Mobilised 1943 and joined G.H.Q., Algiers. Served in residency-general, Tunis, as *chef du cabinet civil* from July 1945, to 1947, when appointed Consul in Cairo. Appointed secretary-general to the Tunisian Government in March 1951. Linguist. Friendly, approachable and helpful.

36. Romdhane, Taher ben
Born about 1910. Caid of Mateur. Member of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil. Well-known Tunisian land-owning family.

37. Saadallah, General Mohamed
Born at Kairouan in 1886. Long service in subordinate administrative posts, until he became director of Religious Endowments from 1932 to 1941. Subsequently he held important appointments under the Ministry of Agriculture, until in August 1950, he became Minister of Agriculture in M'hamed Chenik's second Government. Was in Paris with the Prime Minister during October–December 1951, to discuss Tunisian problem with the French Government. Towards the end of March 1952, when Prime Minister Chenik and three other Ministers were arrested and removed to Kebili, Saadallah, owing it was said to ill-health, was not sent away but kept in house arrest, pending formation of new Ministry.

38. Salem, Dr. Mohamed Ben
Born at Radès in 1915. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis and at the Sorbonne. Qualified in medicine in the Faculty of Medicine, Paris, where he remained from 1934 to 1941. In 1944, married the daughter of His Highness the Bey, Sidi Lamine Pasha Bey. In August 1950, he entered the second Chenik Government as Minister of Health. Towards the end of March 1952, was arrested, together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclocque, and removed to Kebili where detained pending the formation of a new Cabinet.

39. Sliman, Dr. Sliman ben
Born about 1912. Leading member of the Tunisian Communist Party, of which he was elected President in October 1950. Was elected member of Tunisian delegation to the abortive World Peace Conference at Sheffield; went to the Warsaw Conference where he was elected to the World Council for Peace. Was reported to have visited the U.S.S.R. earlier in 1950. President of the Tunisian Committee for Peace and Liberty. Addressed letter of protest and headed deputation of protest to Her Majesty's Consulate-General in October 1951, over events in Egypt. During constitutional troubles in Tunisia in January 1952, was one of six leading Communists arrested by the new resident-general M. de Hauteclocque, and sent to Remada in south Tunisia. Released after several days owing to poor health.

40. Smadja, Dr. Henri
Newspaper proprietor and director, being owner of *La Presse de Tunisie* and the Paris weekly *Combat*. Jewish. Is doctor of medicine but is believed never to have practised. Has a doubtful reputation in some quarters here. Is native of Tunisia but spends much of his time in France. Has visited the United States several times.

41. Stablo, René
Born about 1903. Contrôleur-Civil at Bizerta Has previously served in similar capacity elsewhere in Tunisia, among other posts at Djerba.

42. Tremsal, Dr.
Born about 1903. Vice-President (French) of the Municipality since the summer of 1950. Has a Tunisian co-Vice-President in Chedly Kastelly (*q.v.*). A leading medical practitioner until he accepted this office.

43. Wietzel, Contre-Amiral R.
Born about 1905. French naval officer in command of the dockyard establishments, at Sidi Abdullah (Ferryville), with title of Major-General. Took charge of post in September 1950. Most friendly and well-disposed. Has English wife.

44. Youssef, Maître Salah ben
Born at Djerba in 1909. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis and the Faculty of Law, Paris where he was *licencié* in 1933. In 1934 he took to politics, joining the Néo-Destour Party whose secretary-general he became in 1945 on the departure of Habib Bourguiba (*q.v.*) for Egypt. He entered the second Chenik Government in August 1950, as Minister of Justice, a political development of significance in view of Maitre Salah ben Youssef's prominence in the Néo-Destour Party. One of the more active of the Ministerial group that aided Prime Minister Chenik in negotiations with the resident-general in 1950 and early 1951. In autumn of 1951 was in Paris with Chenik for purpose of pursuing Tunisian question with the French Government. On 13th January, 1951, left with Badra for Paris to endeavour to bring the Tunisian question before the United Nations. On the removal and dismissal of Chenik at the end of March 1952, Youssef left Paris suddenly with Badra and succeeded in reaching Cairo.

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